

Herzen

Kossuth

Marx

Proudhon

Engels

*A
Hundred
Years of
Revolution*

Garibaldi

Mazzini

Blanc

Blanqui

Bakunin

A HUNDRED YEARS OF REVOLUTION

edited by

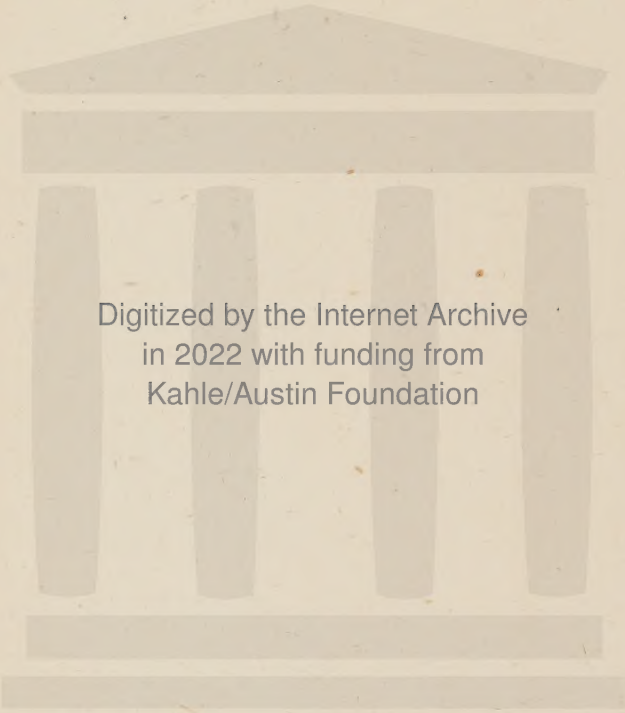
George Woodcock

Critical studies by MAX BELOFF, CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS, JOHN HEWETSON, T. A. JACKSON, RAYMOND POSTGATE, HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON and GEORGE WOODCOCK (editor), together with selected contemporary documents and illustrations.

That the present upheavals all over the world have their roots in history is not always remembered in the heat of controversy. The publishers believe that this volume outlines in unique fashion the political undercurrents of the hundred years which have elapsed since 1848, "The Year of Revolutions."

Essays in Tory, Communist, Social-Democratic and Anarchist thought (with an academic historian holding the balance) present varied facets to the reader.

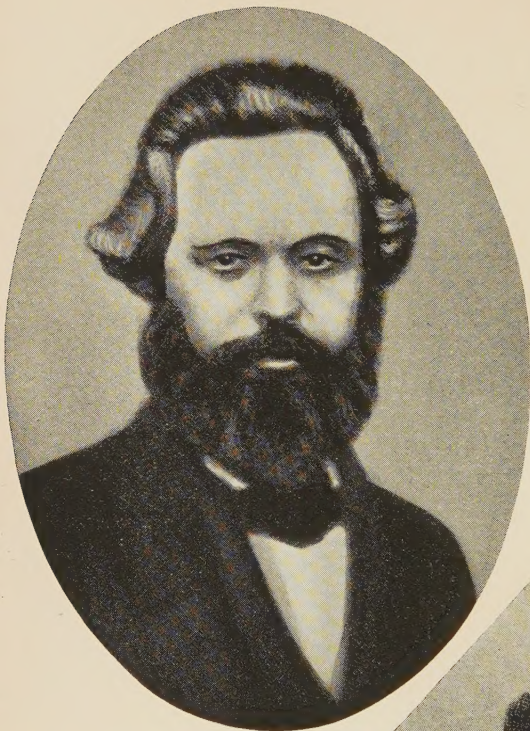
The editor, George Woodcock, has reserved ample space for contemporary material (most of it inaccessible to the ordinary reader), to give not only a "period flavour", but a factual basis for students of the times.



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A Hundred Years
of Revolution
1848 and After

“THE YEAR OF
REVOLUTIONS”



Early portraits of MARX and
BAKUNIN from contemporary
prints

A HUNDRED YEARS
OF REVOLUTION
1848 and After

edited by
George Woodcock



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PREFACE



1848—the year of revolutions ! To many this will seem a remote and romantic year, of top-hatted revolutionaries manning barricades in the capitals of Europe, of grotesque and horrible historical figures like King Bomba and Haynau and of glamorous ones like Garibaldi and Kossuth, of the tragi-comedy of King Ludwig and Lola Montez and the tragic farce of the Chartist petition, of an unending stream of displaced princes and defeated radicals fleeing to the islanded security of Victorian England ! Yet behind all these prominent and trivial events of that period, so much like our own in its failures and follies, its unrealised idealisms and wretched betrayals, we can perceive the crystallisation of those historical tendencies which have not only influenced profoundly the political development of Europe and the world during the past century, but which, even to-day, are potent influences on our communal and individual lives.

1848 saw the rise of the middle class, throughout Western Europe, to active participation in the administration of political life, the political recognition of the economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution. It saw the end of Metternich's Holy Alliance, and the birth and intensification of nationalism throughout Europe. From developments that began to take form in 1848–9—the consolidation of Germany, the advance of Italian unity, the rise of the first modern dictator in Napoleon III—the great wars and national conflicts of the subsequent century were to arise.

1848 also saw the rise of separate working-class political movements. In that year Utopian socialism in Europe died a more or less natural death, and in its place appeared the beginnings of the Communist, Socialist and Anarchist

movements of our own day. All the revolutionary thinkers who were to wield a profound influence over the succeeding century, Marx and Engels, Bakunin and Proudhon, Blanqui, Lassalle and Mazzini, played active parts in the revolutionary movements of 1848-9. The *Communist Manifesto* is only one of the historically significant documents of that period.

This volume is intended to give the reader a broad picture of 1848, its background and events, and also to discuss, from various points of view, the historical influence of the tendencies it initiated over the developments of the century that followed.

My own essay, *1848—the Year of Revolutions*, presents the background of events in the revolutionary period itself, and serves also as an introduction to the anthology of contemporary documents and impressions which forms the second half of the book.

Max Beloff discusses the influence of 1848 on the subsequent history of Europe from the broad viewpoint of the social historian, and the remaining contributors, T. A. Jackson, R. W. Postgate, Christopher Hollis, John Hewetson and Hugh Ross Williamson, selecting each his own aspect of the century's development, trace the political, social and ethical implications of 1848. Their points of view, ranging from Conservatism on the right to Anarchism on the left, and embracing Communism and Social-democracy, Secularism and Christianity, ensure that no really important topic in this great subject is left wholly untouched. With the exception of the contribution by Christopher Hollis, which was originally broadcast in the Third Programme, all these essays have been written specially for this volume.

A book presented in this way, as a collection of essays and documents, suffers inevitably, particularly from an occasional overlapping between the various essays, but this has been reduced to a minimum, and I hope the reader will find compensation in the different viewpoints from which the same events are discussed.

G. W.

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by George Woodcock

1848 : THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS



On January 12th, 1848, the people of Palermo came out into the streets in rebellion against the despotic rule of Ferdinand of Naples, later to become notorious as "King Bomba" for his brutal bombardment of the rebel city of Messina. This rising was the prelude to a whole series of revolutions, involving not merely Italy, but also France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Transylvania, and all the small Slav peoples who were then the "inferior" races of the vast Austrian Empire. Even in England and Ireland, under the stimulus of continental examples, there were extensive riots and abortive revolutionary movements.

The events of 1848 represent in reality at least two different movements. In France, ever since the deposition of the legitimate Bourbon king, Charles X, in 1830, the big business men had ruled under the pretence of a constitutional government by Louis Philippe, "the Citizen King". The rising in France represented an attempt by the lower middle class, supported by the workers, to gain their share of power, and, in consequence, it had prominent social revolutionary elements.

The risings in the rest of Europe, on the other hand, were directed largely against the power which was wielded by the old conservative, Metternich, who, since 1815, by his direct domination over the whole of Central Europe and Italy, and his influence on the remaining continental rulers, had contrived to maintain, in spirit if not in name, the Holy Alliance of reaction and obscurantism as the main force in Europe. Assisted by the Pope, the princelings of Germany, and the rulers of those parts of Italy which, like Tuscany and Naples, were nominally independent, he had maintained as far as possible an almost

absolute form of dynastic government, based on an aristocratic society. Austria, from which his power stemmed, was governed in the most despotic manner, and was known as "the China of Europe", since it was isolated by the most severe of censorships. No newspapers could be published, and books, whether printed internally or imported from abroad, were subjected to the most rigorous examination before the citizens of the country were allowed to read them. Even the mildest radical or reformist propaganda was forbidden, and an efficient political police system assisted the control of Metternich and the Emperor Ferdinand.

The remainder of Germany was, in theory, a federation of large and small sovereign states, under the suzerainty of the Emperor. In fact, these States were completely under the reactionary domination of Metternich, who quickly called to order any prince daring to defer to liberal pretensions. Where a principality, like Baden, began to show the least sign of yielding to progressive tendencies, Metternich was quite prepared to interfere directly in its internal affairs. The only State in the German federation that really challenged the power of Austria was Prussia, but this was merely a dynastic struggle, and the Hohenzollerns were in complete agreement with Metternich over his policy of suppressing the democratic movements within Germany.

Within Austria were included, not only the small country which now bears that name, but also territories that today form parts of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. In these areas all nationalist or democratic movements were carefully suppressed, the native languages were, as far as possible, forbidden, and all the key posts and services in the public administration were in the hands of Germans from Austria.

Among the subject territories was also the northern part of Italy, which, after the first fall of Napoleon in 1814, had been occupied by the Austrians, and retained as an Austrian dominion at the peace of 1815. The possession of this area gave the Austrian government

strategic control of all Italy. While the native princes had returned to their provinces in 1814, and perhaps enjoyed more real sovereignty than the German princes, the Imperial authorities were careful to allow no democratic excesses even in parts of Italy outside their nominal control, and the comparative lack of direct interference was due only to the fact that most of the Italian princes were themselves too despotic to do anything that might displease Metternich. When, in 1821, the people of Naples rose and forced a democratic constitution on their king, the Imperial authorities did not scruple to violate the sovereignty of Neapolitan territory by sending an army to suppress the liberal movement and re-establish the old autocracy. The only state in Italy that possessed any real independence and could afford even the mildest leaning towards liberalism was the kingdom of Piedmont, which also included Genoa and Sardinia. This was due in part, at least, to the fact that Piedmont enjoyed a certain veiled support from both France and the Swiss cantons as a counterbalance to Austrian influence in Italy.

The remaining country over which the Emperor ruled was Hungary. This country was not part of the Empire, and was nominally independent, the Emperor of Austria ruling it as king. But, in fact, since the days of Maria Theresa, it had become dominated by the Emperor's German bureaucracy, and continual attempts had been made to interfere with the rights of the Magyars, the ruling people of the country. But the Magyars were only one race in that sprawling land, which included Transylvania, inhabited largely by Roumanians, and Croatia, with its Slav population, as well as part of Serbia. The Magyar aristocracy, while claiming independence from Austrian domination and equality with Germans within the Habsburg dominions, themselves repudiated and tried to suppress any attempt by either Roumanians or Slavs to claim their autonomous rights, and attempted to maintain their continued suppression under Magyar institutions.

Feudalism persisted throughout Germany and the Austrian subject territories, with the exception of northern Italy, which had been freed of this particular institution by the Napoleonic rule, and the peasants were subjected to the tyrannies of the local landowners as well as those of the centralised bureaucracy. Unlike France and England, these countries had as yet no large class of industrial workers, and the middle class was only just emerging into a condition of political consciousness, much retarded, in the small states at least, by the general economic dependence on princely and aristocratic patronage. Nevertheless, the opening of communications and extension of commerce with the outside world, as well as the emergence of an industrial revolution in parts of Germany, were welding the bourgeoisie into a conscious class, of whom the more prosperous were feeling the manifold disadvantages of the division of Germany into thirty principalities, with as many frontiers, customs barriers and codes of local law, and were beginning to join the liberals in their demands for a united democratic Germany.



The first, and also the most bitterly fought revolution of 1848, was that which began in Italy in January of that year. The Italian revolutionary movement was essentially and predominantly nationalist. The middle classes were opposed to the separatist ideas of the various princes, who were concerned mostly with their own immediate local or dynastic interests. Having enjoyed a temporary unity under the Napoleonic government, the Italian bourgeoisie were not slow to see that, however irksome that dictatorship may have been, it gave them more commercial opportunities than the return to eighteenth-century conditions. They looked to the unity of Italy in a bourgeois democracy. Some, like Mazzini and Manin, wanted a republic, but the majority of the Italian liberals would have been content with a kingdom, and they looked towards Charles Albert of Savoy, the King

of Piedmont, as the possible future king of a united Italy. Generally speaking, in the early part of the nineteenth century, there was a remarkable unity among Italians of all classes in their desire to get rid of native rulers as well as foreign oppressors, so heavily did the yoke of Austrian police tyranny, Papal obscurantism and the cruelty and corruption of the petty kings and princes, weigh upon burgess, peasant and artisan alike. Thus the risings of towns and districts often showed an amazing unanimity, aristocrats, tradesmen, workers, farmers and even priests and monks, playing their part in the movement for a revolution that would free them from the intolerable oppression and corruption they had to endure.

The prelude to the risings of 1848 came when Gregory, one of the illiberal Popes, died and, owing to the dissensions within the College of Cardinals, the timid Pius IX, Pio Nono, was elected. Pius was not wholly hostile to the liberal cause in Rome, and the month after his election he conceded a partial political amnesty, and granted permission to form a civic guard in the city of Rome. From that time onwards Pio Nono became, like Charles Albert, an unwilling figurehead of the Italian revolutionary movement. He was regarded as a liberal opponent of the Austrians, which he certainly was not, and his minor concessions gave a great impetus to the movement for constitutional government and Italian unity, and helped to prepare the way for the risings of 1848.

Significantly, the first risings took place, in January, 1848, in Milan and Palermo, the former city in the centre of the provinces subjected to the hated Austrian rule, the latter in the most disaffected part of the dominions of the King of Naples.

Neither of these risings was immediately successful, but they were followed by riots in all the principal cities, and during February the leading sovereign princes of Italy, the Pope, the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, yielded in terror to the demands of their peoples, and promised constitutions.

The revolutionary initiative now passed to France.

The political trickery and attempts at absolute rule of Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot, the French Metternich, the corruption that permeated the whole administration and more or less sold France to the big financiers who supported the Orleanist cause, the restricted suffrage which gave participation in the Government to a very tiny minority of the population, all combined, by the end of 1847, to produce a widespread movement for constitutional reform, and the opposition to the inept rule of Louis Philippe spread to all classes, even including the big financiers, who were being hit by the economic crisis, which during 1847 and the early part of 1848, caused very wide distress, particularly among the industrial workers, many thousands of whom were unemployed in all the large towns.

Guizot and his fellow ministers promised reform and then went back on their word ; in the end the disgust with their manœuvres was so great that a general demand arose in Paris for the dissolution of the Government. The ministerial majority in the Assembly dwindled until it was only preserved by the fact that many seats were held by government functionaries.

The final clash came over an apparently minor issue, as is often the case in revolutionary upheavals. The Liberals, led by Odilon Barrot and Thiers, had adopted as a propaganda device the idea of holding political banquets throughout the country, at which they hoped, by the numbers of their supporters, to impress the few electors into returning a vote hostile to the Government.

The increasingly general discontent, and the apparent success of the Liberal campaign, led the King and his advisers into an act of panic which provoked a wholly unexpected resistance. A great banquet in Paris was announced for February 22nd, and the Government decided to forbid it. Much feeling was aroused over this question, and on the appointed day the people of Paris came out into the streets to display their solidarity with the cause of reform. The Liberal leaders did not hold their banquet, but the barricades began to rise in the

working-class streets. Before this popular indignation the King agreed to dismiss his ministry, and it is possible that the whole affair might have ended in a change of government and some mild electoral reforms, if a party of regular soldiers had not fired on a crowd of demonstrators and killed a number of them. All Paris rose in protest ; barricades were erected in every quarter, and the workers, led by the moderate socialists like Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, as well as by such extremists as Blanqui and Barbés, joined the bourgeois National Guard in a general uprising. The regular soldiers were mostly sympathetic towards the insurrection, and made no important resistance. Within two days the King abdicated and the revolutionaries invaded the Chamber of Deputies to demand a Republican Provisional Government. In the Chamber Lamartine, one of the Republicans, announced a list of Liberal members to form the new Administration, while at the offices of the revolutionary paper, *La Réforme*, another list was drawn up, consisting of Socialist politicians, and even one worker, Albert, while the Socialists seized the Prefecture of Police and the Post Office. Eventually a compromise was reached by the combination of the two lists. But the final result was a government with a right-wing Republican majority, and this fact was in due course to affect profoundly the course of events in the 1848 revolution in France.

At first there was almost complete unity among the revolutionaries, and in the early days the workers exercised a quite considerable influence, partly through the Socialist representatives in the Government, but more significantly through the innumerable revolutionary clubs which, under the leadership of men like Blanqui, Barbés, Cabet and Raspail, carried on the various Socialist ideals of Babœuf, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Louis Blanc, and gave focus to the revolutionary aspirations of the people. Most of the working-class demonstrations during 1848 in Paris sprang at least partly from the discussions of the clubs, yet it is significant that, with the

exception of Blanqui, most of the club leaders lost their influence in the years following the failures of 1848, and more influence was eventually wielded by a man who had never sought to set himself up as a group leader, P.-J. Proudhon, the most energetic and independent political journalist of 1848.

The Provisional Government immediately set out to conciliate the workers by a number of reforms. A ten-hour working day was decreed, and a somewhat vague "recognition of the Right to Work" was propounded. Undercutting of wages rates by prisons, convents and other institutions was forbidden, and the community accepted responsibility for industrial accidents, the Tuileries being set aside as a hospital for this purpose. Sub-contracting was abolished, and the old trade guilds were replaced by organisations of workers and employers for conciliation purposes.

But these mild reforms were overshadowed by the initiatives of the workers themselves. They had at first demanded a Ministry of Labour; this was refused by Lamartine and the other Republicans in the Government, but, through the intervention of Blanc and Albert, a "Commission for the Workers" was set up at the Luxembourg. Delegates were elected by each trade, and a kind of Soviet of three or four hundred members assembled, providing, for a time at least, a centre for working-class industrial activity of a radical nature, as opposed to the purely political aims and methods of most of the clubs, with their doctrinaire leaders and orators. By intervening to support strikers, the Luxembourg Commission managed to obtain minimum-wage rates in a number of industries. It encouraged the formation of trade unions among the workers, and also the very wide movement of voluntary co-operatives of producers, which sprang up in many Paris trades. Finally, it issued programmes calling somewhat vaguely for the replacement of capitalist control of industry by a kind of mutualist Socialism, and encouraged workers to offer themselves as candidates in the elections for the Assembly.

Undoubtedly the vigour and power of this organisation aroused much disquiet and jealousy among the bourgeois members of the Government. The reactionaries began to gather in order to combat what they justly regarded as this new threat to their interests, while early in March the right-wing members of the Government set up a scheme to counter the influence of the Luxembourg Commission by regimenting the unemployed into National Workshops, where they were drilled into a force which the Government hoped might be used against the independent and more militant workers grouped around the Luxembourg Commission. Once, indeed, the workers of the *Ateliers Nationaux* helped to break up a popular demonstration organised by the workers of the Luxembourg, but later, in the June days, they were to join very actively in the rising against the Government.

As an additional means of countering the influence of the Socialist revolutionaries, Lamartine formed, from the youths who had taken a somewhat hooligan part in the February Revolution, a kind of Janissary corps, the *Garde Mobile*, who were paid, drilled and disciplined to counter popular demonstrations or risings of the type by which he himself had come to power. This corps was to have a somewhat sinister place in French social history, and even today remains the most unpopular body in a country where nobody likes the police. Thus already, after the first few days of enthusiastic brotherhood in the February revolution, that clash of forces which later brought a sorry end to the revolution was already becoming evident.



Meanwhile, however, the news of the Paris revolution had an electric effect on the radical movements in the rest of Europe. The French revolutionaries maintained an internationalism, merely theoretical in the case of the middle-class liberals, but practical in the case of the more extreme Jacobins and Socialists. Lamartine, as

Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a manifesto to the other countries of Europe, which was guardedly internationalist, while at the same time showing a nationalist trend by denouncing the clauses of the 1815 treaty. But in practice the Provisional Government took a very cautious attitude, and Lamartine gave nothing more than fraternal phrases to the many deputations of European revolutionaries who came to petition him. Paris was full of foreign political refugees, and the revolution brought others flowing into this left-wing Mecca. But, although small expeditions of refugees were organised in France and crossed the frontiers into Italy, Germany and Belgium, they were not assisted in any material way by the Provisional Government, and their own plans were even frustrated by its acts. Only in the case of occasional individual agitators, like Bakunin, was any assistance given, and that was usually done secretly and in order to get rid of an embarrassingly subversive person.

However, although the French Republic never gave any material encouragement to insurrections abroad, the example of the February rising had a really stimulating effect throughout Europe between the Pyrenees and the frontiers of Russia. In Germany the discontent of the middle class began to manifest itself in action. In Italy the existing revolutionary movements were impelled to really desperate activity.

The previous year had already seen a stirring of organised opposition to the various German governments. In the Rhineland there were small groups of Socialists and Communists, among whom Marx was already prominent as the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. But Marx and his associates played a very minor part in the revolutionary movements of 1848, which were essentially liberal and Pan-German in character. The German revolutionaries were divided into Moderate and Republican camps. The Moderates, led by von Gagern and Mathy, aimed merely at a federation of the German States which would not interfere with the sovereignty of the existing dynasties, and some kind of democratisation

of their individual governments. The Republicans, led by Hecker and Struve, who had held a conference at Offenburg in November, 1847, put forward a more radical but essentially similar programme. They asked for a German parliament elected by universal suffrage, for freedom of Press and conscience, for trial by jury and a graduated income tax, for the responsibility of ministers and the abolition of privileges. To these demands they added a number of aspirations so imprecise as to be virtually meaningless, such as "Comfort, education and instruction for all", "Protection of labour and the right to work", and "Adjustment of the relations between capital and labour". Their chief characteristic was a certain swashbuckling wordiness, but for all practical purposes their programme was essentially a liberal one of the most cautious kind.

These groups had succeeded in organising very little really effective resistance, and it may be doubted whether, without the impetus of the Paris rebellion, they would have gone far beyond vague discussion and fruitless resolutions.

But the news from Paris stirred them into action. On February 27th, von Gagern, leader of the Moderates, brought forward a resolution in the Darmstadt Chamber for a German National Parliament. Mathy persuaded the Grand Duke of Baden to grant a democratic constitution, and the rest of the smaller princes followed suit. The mood of the German people was still so cautious that these moves effectively forestalled the Republicans.

But the really great events in the German revolution were to come later in the month. On March 13th in Vienna, the very stronghold of the Empire, the people—burgesses, students and workers together—rose and overturned the seemingly undefeatable régime of Metternich. That statesman went into exile for ever, remarking to his wife, "Yes, my dear, we are dead." The Emperor conceded the people's demands for constitutional government. A National Guard was formed, and on the day after the revolution the great censorship machine of the

Empire was destroyed, while the Diet was summoned to meet shortly.

From Vienna the revolt spread to the other great stronghold of German reaction, and on March 18th the barricades went up in Berlin, the troops retired from the city, and the King made haste to submit to the demands of the revolutionaries. The Prince of Prussia, who was regarded with hatred by the population, fled to join Louis Philippe and Metternich in comparatively untroubled England, and the King granted the usual constitutional demands and a political amnesty, while a Liberal ministry was installed under Camphausen. On March 20th the King of Bavaria abdicated and Lola Montez fled from Germany; the first stage of the German revolution, so far as it went, was complete. The customary democratic freedoms and safeguards had been granted, the burden of feudalism was removed from the peasants, and German unity seemed to be carried a step nearer by the meeting on March 31st of the Vorparlament from the Estates of the various principalities. This body decided to convoke a National Assembly, based on universal suffrage, which it was expected would become the federal organ of the German nation, with the power to over-ride the will of princes, whether large or small.

In Italy the Paris revolution gave the impetus to a new wave of resistance. On March 10th, after wild demonstrations in the streets of Rome, the Pope granted a constitution and called in a government where churchmen were no longer preponderant. A few days later, when the news of the Vienna revolution reached Italy, the people of Milan rose in arms, and, after five days of very bitter fighting, drove the Austrians back to Verona. Venice rose on March 23rd, declaring a republic and taking possession of the Austrian arsenal and navy in their city. Willing to gain what he could from a unification of Italy, fearful of insurrection among his own subjects, and anxious to avoid trouble with the neighbouring revolutionaries in France, Charles Albert of Piedmont declared



Garibaldi

war on Austria and sent his army into Lombardy. Forced on by the demands of their subjects, even the Pope and the King of Naples sent expeditions to help the Piedmontese, though both of them later went back on their word, as soon as it seemed convenient to accept Austrian influence in preference to the revolutionary tendencies among their own people.

Meanwhile, even England had its revolutionary movement, though it assumed a somewhat farcical character. Chartism had been moribund for six years, since the failure of the Petition of 1842, but the news of the rising in Paris stirred up the remaining Chartists to new activity, and the existence of a certain amount of economic distress led the people in many parts of the country to express their discontent in riots and demonstrations, which reached very formidable proportions in Glasgow and Edinburgh. A new Convention was called, in order to present a further petition, and the creation of a revolutionary National Assembly was even proposed. But popular support for the Chartists had shrunk more than either their leaders or the Government imagined.

A great demonstration to present the petition was planned for April 10th, and the authorities, with their minds full of the examples of Paris, Vienna, Berlin and Rome, made elaborate and frightened precautions, calling many troops into London and recruiting from among the wealthier classes a great mass of special constables for duty on the day of the demonstration, among whom was Prince Louis Napoleon, very soon to become the final destroyer of the achievements of 1848 in France.

The demonstration, however, proved a complete fiasco. A small crowd gathered to hear the speeches, and the procession allowed itself to be halted by the cordons of police and troops at the Thames bridges. The day reached a silly conclusion, when the petition was delivered to the Houses of Parliament in three hansom cabs and was found on examination to contain less than two million names instead of the five or six millions

boasted by the Chartist leaders. Moreover, many of the signatures were clearly bogus, since, it appeared, Queen Victoria and the Duke of Wellington were both signatories, the latter no less than seventeen times !

Thus the English revolutionary movement ended in an ignominious atmosphere of bathos and hoax, and the Government had no difficulty at all in suppressing the few physical-force Chartists who still tried to arm and drill themselves for an insurrection.

Similarly, the Young Ireland movement received an illusory impetus from the February rising, with almost as poor a conclusion as that of the Chartist movement. There was a great deal of revolutionary talk, and the various Nationalist newspapers published inflammatory articles calling for armed rebellion against the alien masters, and giving detailed instructions in the technique of insurrection and the manufacture of weapons and explosives. But the Irish population was as yet unprepared to give adequate support to a revolutionary movement. In June the most active of the revolutionary leaders, Mitchel, was arrested, and the movement soon collapsed, the remaining rebels of any importance being picked off by the authorities and transported. A few isolated riots and armed clashes took place, but these were completely frustrated by the weakness of the leaders, who preached fiery revolution but were, in general, too scared to carry it out or encourage it in others.



The revolutionary impetus in Europe was of no long duration, and within two months it became evident that the upper middle class, having installed themselves in power, were unwilling that the revolutionary movements should go any further, and were not averse, in order to gain this end, from allying themselves with those remaining reactionaries who were not yet completely discredited.

Already, in France, a demonstration of the left, led by Blanqui and other club orators, was dispersed because

Louis Blanc, the veteran Socialist, intervened on the side of "order" and persuaded the majority of the demonstrators to go home in peace. Blanc's right-wing associates regarded this as a triumph for their ends, and a fortnight later they issued a document, the *Piece Tascherau*, which purported to show that Blanqui had given information on subversive movements to the Orleanist police. If one considers Blanqui's inflexible character, as demonstrated in his single-minded and almost religiously fanatical career of conspiracy and repeated imprisonments, it is difficult to believe that this paper was anything other than a forgery, particularly as no evidence has been produced in corroboration. But it had the desired effect of alienating many revolutionaries from the individual whom the Liberals feared most, and this effect was assisted by the personal animosity which existed within the revolutionary ranks between Blanqui and the equally influential Barbés, his former friend.

The early part of April was devoted to a systematic propaganda against the revolutionary Left. The middle-class elements were consolidated, the working-class "fifth column" was fostered in the National Workshops and the Garde Mobile. By the middle of April the revolutionary tide in France had definitely turned. On the 16th of that month the workers' delegates of the Luxembourg organised a large but very peaceful demonstration to the Hotel de Ville. The authorities called on the National Guard and the men from the National Workshops, who appeared in large numbers and broke up the demonstration shouting slogans against the "Communists". Another veteran Socialist leader, Ledru-Rollin, told the deputation which waited on him to go home and cause no more trouble, and thus, like his associate Louis Blanc, played his part in frustrating the movement which he himself claimed to lead.

A few days later the elections took place, and the Right secured a large majority of the seats, particularly in the peasant districts. The Party of Order, a heterogeneous

combination of royalists and conservative republicans, gained the ascendancy, and they were not slow to pursue their advantage. When the workers of Rouen held a demonstration four days later to complain of the manipulation of the polls, the National Guards shot them down. The Parisian revolutionaries were incensed by this act, but the new Assembly went so far as to elect as its own vice-president the officer responsible for the massacre. It was furthermore decreed that no more petitions should be presented.

The Parisian workers were disgusted at the trend which events were taking, and, after the Luxembourg Commission had held its last meeting on May 13th, they began to think of open demonstrations of their discontent. Two days later, the clubs organised a demonstration, ostensibly to present a petition for aid to Poland, but really to make a show of strength in the Paris streets in defiance of the Assembly's ban. After invading the Chamber and proclaiming its dissolution, the demonstrators went back to the Hotel de Ville, where they elected a new Provisional Government. The various versions of the list included the names of all the leading figures who stood in opposition to the Assembly, such as Blanqui, Barbés, Caussidière, Flocon, Ledru-Rollin, Proudhon, Cabet, Raspail and Louis Blanc, but it is unlikely that all of these willingly allowed their names to be used, particularly as Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin still tried their best to compromise with the Right, while Proudhon always held himself aloof from the leaders of the clubs, whose names made up the list. The Provisional Government was short-lived, for Lamartine and his associates called out the bourgeois National Guard, who dispersed the unarmed demonstrators and arrested their leaders. Caussidière, head of the Paris police, and Courtois, general of the National Guard, were dismissed because they did not attack the demonstrators.

The conflict between the two sections into which the movement of February had split now became more

intense than ever. The Assembly, thinking that it had completely consolidated its ground and, by arresting the club leaders, eliminated the possibility of any further rising, proceeded to attack the National Workshops, which it was felt had served the purpose intended by Lamartine and his associates and could now be regarded as a mere waste of money. On May 24th, Trélat drew up instructions that all workers who refused to join the armed forces or to take work with an outside employer should be dismissed from the workshops. Emile Thomas, the director of the workshops and himself an enemy of the Socialists, protested against the folly of such a decree, but he was silenced by the simple device of kidnapping and transporting him secretly to Bordeaux. After a month's delay the decree was finally issued, with additional provisions abolishing the bureau for giving assistance to the needy and the medical service for workers.

Naturally, the workers who had fought for the revolution in February were not likely to accept such an attack on their livelihood without any protest, and on June 22nd a deputation of them waited on the Government. They received threats in answer, and returned to the working-class areas to prepare for insurrection. By next morning the barricades had risen all over the eastern part of Paris, and the workers, without any leader, had begun the fiercest struggle up to that time in the revolutionary history of France.

Cavaignac, the commander of the Government forces, had withdrawn his troops from the disaffected quarters, with the deliberate intention of allowing the insurrection to grow to its greatest proportions in order to crush completely and finally the revolutionary Left. He then mounted an irresistible attack with large contingents of the Army, as well as the National Guard and the Garde Mobile. The struggle lasted four days, and the workers fought by themselves, with no allies among the middle classes or even among the Socialist leaders, most of whom were in prison or, like Louis Blanc, had no great desire to become too actively involved in real revolutionary

struggle. A hostile French historian, de la Gorce, has said of the insurrectionaries :

“ To whatever side we turn we find no general direction. The engineers of La Chapelle, who were hidden in the Clos St Lazare, the brigadiers of the National Workshops, who could be seen behind the barricades in the Faubourg St Antoine with their cards in their hats and their ribbons in their buttonholes, the old Montagnards, assembled in the Faubourg du Temple or the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, a few deluded old soldiers who loaded the weapons of the least experienced insurgents and commanded the firing on the troops—these were the leaders of sedition, subordinate and unknown leaders, selected for the most part by chance—yet not therefore contemptible, since, unlike more famous demagogues, they had the merit of knowing how to die.”

The slaughter was enormous, and the brutality with which the victors acted was extremely savage, prisoners being shot in batches without trial or examination. The Socialist revolution was defeated, and it would be many years before the working class again played any significant part in French affairs. The Assembly could return in peace to its work of undoing the achievements of February.



The June days represented a major setback to revolutionary aims throughout Europe. Everywhere the more conservative elements began to take the lead. In Germany the princes and their ministers gained confidence, in Italy such reactionaries as the King of Naples began to resume their despotic power and to revoke the constitutions they had granted when the popular uprisings first made them retreat in panic. The most significant effect was that, after June, the European revolution began to lose its social character and to become more nationalist. The nationalist revolutions in Hungary and Italy survived for more than a year after the Paris revolution, with its social basis, had virtually ended.

From June onwards the interest shifts almost wholly to the Austrian Empire and its spheres of influence, Germany, Italy and Hungary, and becomes increasingly centred on the attempt by the Emperor and the petty despots of Germany and Italy to regain the power which they had lost in the fall of Metternich.

The radical movement in Germany began to decline as soon as the inspiration of Paris was removed. In April Hecker had made another rising in Baden, but was again defeated, and in May there had been demonstrations in Vienna which forced the Emperor to promise a constitution and depart to the safety of Innsbruck. But when the Frankfurt Assembly finally met on May 18th, its conservative character soon became evident, and this was confirmed when the Archduke John of Austria was elected Regent of the German empire. Very soon the Frankfurt Assembly was encouraging nationalist aggressions against the Danes, and supporting the Emperor in his campaigns against the Italians, the Hungarians and the Slavs. During its whole life, this Assembly devoted itself to wordy discussion and achieved almost nothing ; when at last, in March, 1849, it awoke and announced its constitution to be the law of Germany, the gesture was many months too late, and its Rump, deprived of the conservative majority, died uselessly on its ignominious expulsion from Wurtemberg in June, 1849. Nevertheless, while in itself the Assembly was almost completely useless, it has some historical significance as a precursor of the later movements for a united Germany which ended in the hegemony of Prussia—an event anticipated by the Assembly when it offered the crown of Germany to the Hohenzollerns.

The various subject races of the Austrian empire were late in joining the revolutionary movement, and their rôle was for the most part reactionary in its effect. In Hungary, as we have said, the revolution remained in the hands of the landowners and the upper middle class, and it was to a Diet of noblemen that the Emperor granted a constitution after the March rising in Vienna

had made him feel insecure enough to wish to placate any potential ally. And, for the time being at least, this act stood him in good stead, since during its early days the Hungarian movement remained monarchical and the Republican agitation of men like Perczel had little effect. Indeed, so loyal were the Hungarians to the Emperor, and so little were they willing to understand other peoples who fought for national freedom, that in June, 1848, they actually sent an army to assist in subjugating Lombardy and Venetia.

The acquisition of partial autonomy only increased the nationalist tendencies of the Magyars, and made their rule more intolerable to the Serbs, Croats and Roumanians included within their territories. In May, 1848, there was a general rising of these peoples, of a racial rather than a social character, and for the rest of its existence independent Hungary was beset by revolutions among its subject peoples which might have been placated by a less haughty treatment on the part of the ruling race. But, as it was, the Slavs and Roumanians, incensed by the treatment they received, allowed themselves to be used as tools by the Austrian Government, which maintained a pretence of impartiality towards the differences between the Hungarians and their subjects, but which in fact secretly encouraged all these races, and particularly the Croats, in their rebellion.

The Slavs, in fact, play an unhappy part in the history of the European revolution. There was, indeed, one genuine Slav movement of revolt against the Austrian Government, when, on June 15th, the morrow of a Pan-Slav conference, the people of Prague, supported by a number of Polish and Russian revolutionaries, including Bakunin, who happened to have reached that city during his travels, rose and drove out the Austrian troops. But the revolt was soon crushed, and from that time the Slav movements fell into the hands of bourgeois nationalists who were willing to play the Emperor's game of divide-and-rule, in the hope of gaining some kind of autonomy, which, in fact, they never achieved.

During the late summer of 1848 the Emperor began to feel sufficiently confident to return to autocratic methods, so much did events appear to have turned to his advantage. On August 5th Milan had fallen and Charles Albert had withdrawn his forces to Piedmont, leaving the Venetian Republic as the only unconquered part of Northern Italy. Less than three weeks later a clash between the National Guard and the unemployed workers in Vienna had shown that the Austrian revolutionary movement was suffering from a similar division to that which had destroyed the revolution in Paris. In September, the Croats, with the tacit approval of the Emperor, began to advance into Hungary, and on October 3rd Ferdinand announced the annulment of the Hungarian constitution and appointed Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, the military ruler of Hungary, a calculated insult to the pride of the Magyar aristocracy, who had always regarded the Croats as an inferior race. Austrian troops began to assemble for the expedition against Hungary.

But Ferdinand had calculated without one factor, the citizens of Vienna, who stand out in the history of 1848 as the only people who were willing to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of another revolution. On October 6th the workers and students rose, the Minister of War was hanged from a lamp-post, and the Emperor fled in terror. But the next day Windischgrätz began to collect an army of Slavs, and by October 23rd he had surrounded the city. The Hungarians made a half-hearted attempt to relieve the Viennese, but were defeated outside the walls, and there followed a general assault on the rebel garrison, which terminated by the fall of Vienna on November 1st and the end of the Austrian revolution. Austria returned to its autocratic government, and, after Ferdinand's abdication in December and the accession of Francis Joseph to the imperial throne, the Diet, which had maintained a nominal existence for some months, was dissolved in March, 1849, and Austria retired temporarily from German affairs.

Nevertheless, the revolution had not been wholly fruitless, for, unlike the German States, the Austrian authorities made no attempt to re-impose feudalism on the peasants.

At the same time, the current of events led the King of Prussia to adopt a changed attitude towards the Assembly to which he had previously deferred, and, supported by the Liberals who had climbed to office in the revolution earlier in the year, he decided to dissolve this institution. The members of the Assembly made a show of resistance, but, when Wrangel's troops appeared before Berlin, they were allowed to enter the city without hindrance, and the Assembly was finally dispersed, its members recommending a campaign of non-payment of taxes which met little response.

The revolution was in full retreat, for the following month Louis Napoleon, after a demagogic campaign aided by the excesses of the Royalists and the right-wing conservatives, became President of France, supported largely by the votes of French workers who had lost trust in Socialists like Ledru-Rollin and who mistakenly thought that by voting for Napoleon they were avenging themselves on Cavaignac and the Right. In this, as in many other points, the career of Napoleon resembled those of the modern dictators.

The early part of 1849 saw a new reversal of fortunes for the Austrian Empire. From January to March the Imperial armies fighting in Hungary met with continual defeats, while new insurrections broke out in Italy. On February 6th the people of Tuscany rose, and, after the flight of the Grand Duke, proclaimed a republic. Three days later there was a rebellion in Rome, the Pope fled to Neapolitan territory, and the Republic was founded. The Roman rising was somewhat different from the previous insurrections, since it was inspired by Mazzini, the great idealist of the Italian revolution, who had never before enjoyed the chance of putting his ideas into practice. Mazzini was not a socialist, but he strongly opposed large-scale capitalism and landlordism, and his

movement had such deep roots in the working class that in later years he was a serious rival of Marx and Bakunin for influence in the International. During the six months of the Roman Republic, Mazzini's disinterested administration and Garibaldi's dashing defensive tactics brought about a unity among the Roman people which was only equalled by that of the sister republic of Venice.

The events in Tuscany and Rome led Charles Albert of Piedmont to decide that if he wished to retain any influence in Italy he must act quickly, and on March 12th he again declared war on Austria and advanced into Lombardy.

The new insurrections in Italy and the successes of the Magyar armies in Hungary and Transylvania led the Emperor of Austria to the desperate measure of calling in the assistance of his fellow autocrat, the Tsar of Russia, to re-establish the integrity of his Empire. This signalled the beginning of a really concerted attack by the new alliance of autocrats and the upper bourgeoisie on the remnants of the revolutionary achievements in Europe. The Austrians, assisted by the Russians in Hungary, were enabled to defeat the Piedmontese at Novara and thus suppress once again the revolution in Lombardy. Meanwhile, the French sent an expedition to Italy. Nominally, this was to assist the Roman Republic and halt the southward march of the Austrian troops, but in fact it represented a move against the Republic, and this was made clear by General Oudinot's aggressive actions. De Lesseps was sent to enquire into complaints concerning Oudinot's conduct, but, when an even more reactionary Assembly was elected on May 29th, de Lesseps was recalled and Oudinot's rôle in Italy became clear. After desperate fighting in the outskirts of Rome, the French army entered the city on July 3rd, and on the 15th of that month the Papal Government returned to Rome. The French Republic had destroyed the Roman Republic and installed an autocrat in its place.

Encouraged by the general tendency, the princes of

Germany began to attack what remained of the revolution in their territories. On April 12th, as I have already mentioned, the Frankfurt Assembly performed its one act of real defiance by declaring its constitution to be the law of Germany. The Chambers of Prussia, Hanover and Saxony decided to uphold this decision, and were immediately dissolved by their respective rulers, the King of Prussia calling on all the States to revise in an autocratic direction the constitutions which had been granted during the risings in the previous year. The German upper bourgeoisie had already consolidated their position as allies of the old aristocracy, and it was left for the petty bourgeoisie to make what resistance they could. In April there were risings in the Rhineland and Saxony, both of which were crushed by Prussian troops. Dresden put up a stubborn defence, among the fighters being Richard Wagner and, once again, Bakunin, who was arrested here and began his decade of rigorous imprisonment in the dungeons of Saxony, Austria and Russia. Dresden fell on May 9th, and the next day there began a revolt in Baden and the Palatinate. A Republic was declared in these provinces, and for more than two months the rebels resisted ; it was the first time that any really effective resistance had been made to reaction in Germany, but it also failed when the last citadel of Rastatt fell on July 23rd, and the German revolution was at an end.

The months of August and September saw the two desperate last stands of the 1848-49 revolutionaries. The first was in Italy. After the revolutions in every other part of that country had been crushed, the Republic of Venice continued to fight on, maintaining, under the leadership of a Jewish lawyer, Daniele Manin, a great unity of classes in the struggle to retain its ancient independence. Cut off from the rest of Italy and from any hope of assistance from outside, the Venetians resisted until it was no longer physically possible, until the last day's food had been eaten, the last ammunition had been consumed, and cholera had reached epidemic propor-

tions. No city showed such an unanimous desire to maintain its essential liberties as did Venice throughout the whole period of the 1848-9 revolution ; it seemed as if the spirit of the mediæval free cities had been here re-born and brought to a late flowering.

If Venice represented the last stand of the democrats in 1848, in Hungary the nationalist aristocracy carried on for a month longer. In April, 1849, the Hungarians had finally declared their independence of the Austrian Emperor, and formed themselves into a Republic under the leadership of Louis Kossuth. The circumstance that led a revolution of landowners to abandon their dynastic loyalties had been what seemed to them the final treachery by which their King had called in a foreign autocrat to help in their suppression. For some months they carried on a great campaign of cavalry warfare, but in the end they were no match for the alliance of Austrians, Russians, Roumanians, Croats and Serbs. Moreover, they were split by internal dissensions, since many of their leaders, including the commanding general, Görgei, found it hard to give up their monarchical ideas, and seem to have fought half-heartedly after Hungary became a republic. On August 11th the Provisional Government abdicated, and Kossuth fled the country, to enter on a life of picturesque exile in England. Two days later the main army, under Görgei, surrendered at Villagos, and the Austrian General Haynau, who had already made himself notorious for his barbarities in Lombardy, instituted a rigorous process of shooting and hanging. Isolated bands of Hungarians continued to carry on a hopeless struggle against their enemies, and it was not until September 26th, six weeks after the collapse of the main forces, a month after the capitulation of Venice, that the last stronghold of the revolutions of 1848-9, the Hungarian fortress of Komorn, fell to the Imperial armies.



The period of revolution was ended, and a new period

of reaction began in Europe, with Napoleon III and Bismarck taking the places of Guizot and Metternich. Some of the political movements of 1848 were to achieve a partial though twisted fulfilment at the hands of these new autocrats. German unity was achieved in a subordination of the remaining provinces to Prussian hegemony, an end hardly desired by the original Pan-Germans. Slav unity was to become a political weapon in the hands of the Russian Tsars, and in our own day has been achieved as much by force as by persuasion. Italian nationalism resulted in a unification of Italy under the Piedmontese royal house which did not accord with the original ambitions of Mazzini and Garibaldi. Most of the demands of the Chartists were gained in the ensuing century, but their attainment has not eliminated the need for radical struggles in other fields.

But the actual insurrections of 1848 do not loom so large in our vision today as the political and social tendencies which the revolution initiated. The movements of 1848, frustrated as they may have been in their achievements, were accompanied by a crystallisation of the political ideas which were later to become foundations for important social movements. Here it is sufficient to sketch them briefly.

The appearance of Marxist Communism, as a clearly defined political creed and the basis of a social movement, dates from 1848, for Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, although it may have been written late in 1847 and published a month before the outbreak of the Paris rising, was essentially motivated by the same spirit of revolt as provoked the various European uprisings. Neither Marx personally nor the *Communist Manifesto* had any great influence on the events of 1848; their time was to come in the following years when the workers had largely turned away from Jacobinism towards a more specifically working-class creed. Marx's influence was at first strongest among the German workers, but even there it was shared by another Socialist, who gave active sympathy to the risings of 1848, Ferdinand Lassalle, the

founder of the Social-democratic movement in Germany.

In the Latin and Slav countries the influence of Marx was late in becoming evident, and here the characteristic movements of the latter half of the nineteenth century stemmed from the ideas of other participants in the 1848 risings. In France the revolutionary movement subsequent to 1849 was divided mostly between the supporters of Blanqui, the founder of a species of extreme Babœuvism and advocate of revolutionary dictatorship (he initiated the idea of the "dictatorship of the proletariat") and those of Proudhon, who, as an independent journalist, had subjected the events of 1848 to an acute criticism in his successive newspapers, all in their turn suppressed by the authorities. Proudhon denounced governmental institutions, and demanded the elimination of accumulated property. Under his influence a large mass of the French workers turned aside from political conspiracy into industrial organisation, and Syndicalism owed much to his teaching. During the Paris Commune of 1871 the rebels were mostly divided between the followers of Blanqui and those of Proudhon, while in its early days the Proudhonians were as influential in the First International as the Marxists.

Proudhon was the first continental anarchist, but the creation of an organised anarchist movement, which later played a very great part in social unrest in Latin Europe, Russia, Bulgaria and the United States, was undertaken by another active participant in the 1848 revolutions, Michael Bakunin. Although Bakunin had already absorbed Proudhon's ideas during 1848, his main preoccupation in these days was a kind of revolutionary pan-Slavism. When, however, he escaped to Europe after his decade of imprisonment, with his ideals of 1848 still unharmed, he entered the revolutionary movement of the 1860's as a declared anarchist, and led the strongest opposition to Marx in the International. This organisation eventually split into Marxist and Anarchist wings, and the anarchists remained the most important group in Spain, as well as for many years

playing an influential part in the French, Italian, Russian and American working-class movements.

Another Russian whom 1848 set irrevocably on a revolutionary course was Alexander Herzen. A confirmed sceptic, and a very ironical observer of the shortcomings of the 1848 revolutionaries, Herzen almost unwillingly retained his ideals, and in the following decade founded a Russian emigré paper, *The Bell*, through which he wielded a greater influence than any other single person on the development of a Russian liberal and revolutionary movement against the Tsarist autocracy.

In Italy the influence of Mazzini was for some years very great in the revolutionary movement, but after the unification it gave place to the more definite social ideas of the socialists and anarchists.

In Ireland the farcical failure of 1848 prepared the way for a stronger nationalist movement, which, under the Fenians, brought a really effective opposition to the British rule. In England, with the discrediting of Chartism, the workers turned back to the Trade Union ideas which had been so influential in the 1830's and for a long period, except for the comparatively slight activities of the Christian Socialists, the discontent of the working class was directed into channels of industrial organisation.

But, if the influences of 1848 are to be found in all the left-wing movements of today, in Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Trade-Unionism, they are also present among the Right. Napoleonic Cæsarism sprang from 1848, and Louis Napoleon became the first of the modern dictators, by the use of methods which closely anticipated those of Hitler and Mussolini. The nationalist movements of 1848 found their perverted conclusion in Nazism and Fascism, the pan-Germans, in particular, being almost as violent as the Nazis in their denunciation of the inferior races and their desire to maintain the German hegemony over a whole range of subject peoples.

A century of crowded political events has passed since "the year of revolutions". Yet we still live under the

influence of the happenings of that time, and still, in our own day, are witnessing the fulfilment, usually in an ironically perverted form, of the ideals for which the men of 1848 fought, often futilely, and never more than half-realising the significance of their acts.

by Max Beloff

1848-1948 : A RETROSPECT



The general human weakness for anniversaries is one fully shared by historians. But an historical anniversary is a more complicated kind than the popular affair. Whereas for the ordinary person the essential part of an anniversary must be to recapture and revive the spirit of the thing celebrated, the modern sophisticated historian is well aware that events themselves, and still more states of mind, are elusive things, and that every attempt at recapitulation has an element of creation in it. When, as with the events of 1848, their repercussions may still be said to be unexhausted, and the processes they released, still incomplete, they lend themselves only with difficulty, to impartial and scientific analysis. As our distance from the original "year of Revolutions" increases, our opinions as to its significance alter; partly because historical knowledge is deepened by the revelation of new materials for the forming of judgments, or by new techniques for the juxtaposition and assessment of materials already known, but more profoundly because the alteration in our own ideas as to the true nature of the contemporary scene and the main forces acting upon it.

In the era of comparative stability and confidence which we think of in our insular way as "late Victorian," it was possible to regard the history of modern Europe and the place of 1848 within it as a single progressive development. It was widely assumed, if not always consciously admitted, that the destinies of the Continent were to be sought in the further development of three forces all of which had first come to full maturity in this country. These forces were those of national unification, parliamentary government and industrialism. A minority of

dissidents would have completed this list by adding a more obscure fourth—socialism. But whether the liberal majority or the socialist minority was in question, it was not hard to see the shape which the events of 1848 would take in their minds. On the one side there was progress and on the other side—reaction. One might differ as to where exactly the line between them should be drawn, but the existence of such a line of division was hardly to be gainsaid.

In all this there was a certain plausibility. There could be little doubt of the fact that the unification of such countries as Germany and Italy would assist them to rise in the economic scale, as the prior unification of Great Britain and France had assisted those countries to obtain the lead which they held in 1848. There was not much doubt either, that parliamentary government with the corollary of the abolition of the vestiges of feudalism and serfdom was more favourable to industrial growth under a system of free enterprise than the old-style monarchies which the post-Napoleonic restoration restored to power. The socialist might argue that all this could be reduced to the simple fact of an expanding capitalism breaking the fetters of an outworn social order ; and as Marxism established its claim to respectability, a crop of Marxist theorising overlay the evidence of Marx's own inability to understand the historic events of his own age, and a Marxist orthodoxy about 1848 joined other memorials of the misplaced ingenuity of the school.

But the Marxists too, on the whole, agreed that industrialism, national unification and even at a later date, parliamentary government itself, were all progressive and desirable. 1848 then, was the year of a series of democratic and national movements—some partially successful, some destined to be overwhelmed altogether by reaction, but all leaving at least a residue of achievement upon which their successors could work. Even the fiascos, like Chartism, might be found in the upshot to be premature rather than hopelessly outside the main

stream. On the whole, there could be no doubt that the unifications of Italy and of Germany were desirable, and that those who failed to achieve them by liberal means were at least respectable. Even less conspicuously liberal movements such as that of the Hungarian nationalists were infinitely preferable to the reaction which for the time being suppressed them. We might tolerate a fallen Metternich or Guizot, but as between General Haynau and Kossuth, as between Garibaldi and King "Bomba", there could be little doubt where one's sympathies should lie. Such was the history of rights and wrongs, of progress and reaction which inspired the liberal historians of these events; such was the textbook history through which our generation for the most part learned of 1848.

That primitive pattern scarcely survives outside the text-books. But in our new mood of disillusioned sophistication we must beware lest we overlook the element of genuine truth which it contained. The most recent eminent historian of "1848" has given to it the title of "The Revolution of the Intellectuals". It is meant as a disparagement. Here we have these professors and journalists and artists, these unworldly phrase-makers, prating of liberty and the rest, while they ignore the great material and psychological impulses which make the stuff of history. Talking in terms of universals, they are in fact only the mouthpiece of the narrow middle class from which they spring and which buys their books and papers that they may live. The lives and needs of the masses—both of the new urban proletariat and still more of the vastly larger peasant world—are unknown to them. The secret of political power, the social functions of force, are hidden from them. Above all they are subject in an even more acute form—particularly in Germany, but not in Germany alone—to the same nationalist urge which is stronger than all their liberal principles.

Of the truth of all this, no student of these years can reasonably doubt. But to regard it as the whole truth,

is to overlook something of equal significance, the fact that it was possible to have a "Revolution of the Intellectuals" at all. To each episode in the Revolution, whether it be in Italy, France, the Austrian Empire or Germany, its own local interpretation can be given and elaborated. Each can be discounted as the result of a local clash of interests. But there remains the astonishing fact that, for contemporaries, the Revolution was in some sense a unity. It is impossible otherwise to explain the rapidity and extent of its spread.

It is this internationalism of the Revolution that provides one of the major contrasts between 1848 and the great Revolution of 1789, of which it was in one sense the successor. The intellectual world of the last years of 1789 was international in only a very limited sense. The cultural supremacy of eighteenth-century France was reflected in the prestige of French thought and modes as far afield as Germany and Russia. France in its turn was affected to some extent by the successful outcome of the American Revolution. But, in the absence of a large reading class, and of a popular press, these contacts were confined to narrow and largely courtly circles. It was French arms not French ideas which dominated European history in the crowded quarter century between the meeting of the States General and the Battle of the Nations. It was not the ideas of the French Revolution but the reaction against them that dominated the following three decades. The brotherhood of peoples was replaced by the cousinhood of crowned heads.

But by 1848, and in the shadow of the reaction itself, all this had changed. The intellectuals had come out of the salons and the boudoirs and were finding new fields of activity among a middle class of increasingly complex composition and among at least some layers of the new proletariat. Technical changes were assisting the process. The railway age was beginning, and with it the first important speed-up in human intercommunication since the collapse of the Roman World. The world which produced the Revolution of 1848 was a good world for

intellectuals. Social change, although increasingly rapid and productive of many palpable evils, such as the series of economic crises of increasing severity, was nevertheless not yet upon such a scale as to seem out of control. Since economic social and political thought had all far outrun the willingness of governments to experiment, there was no reason to doubt but that somewhere in the ferment of ideas lay the solutions to all the problems of the age.

Nor should it be overlooked that the conservative or frankly reactionary governments which ruled over Europe as guardians of the Vienna settlement were themselves less inimical to intellectual speculation than might at first sight be imagined. In the first place, the peace which, with few and inconsiderable exceptions, was maintained throughout the period, was itself profoundly favourable to the spread of ideas and the development of a general European consciousness. The differences between the governments belonging to the system were sufficient to provide outlets for those critics of their home governments who attracted too much attention to themselves. What was intolerable in St. Petersburg or Berlin could be said with impunity in Paris or London. In the second place, the governments of the reaction themselves stimulated intellectual activity because they themselves relied upon it for their support. The great strength of the *ancien régime* had been its unquestioned foundations. If the monarchies had their Bastilles for the occasional recalcitrant, the legitimacy of their rule was, for the broad masses, self-evident. They relied upon consent which was all the stronger because it so rarely needed to become conscious.

The peacemakers of Vienna might restore much of the mechanism and outward trappings of the system which had been overthrown. They could not restore its automatic functioning nor the confidence which this produced. The eighteenth century had produced the sceptical and individualist philosophies which had undermined the solidity of the existing political and social

structure. The early nineteenth century saw absolutism itself develop a complex ideology to compete with that of its enemies. The dialectic of ideas was not a philosophic figment but a contemporary fact. In 1948 when the competing ideologies are so remote in spirit that no common ground for debate exists, it is perhaps hard to imagine a world in which the moulds had not yet set, in which debate and discussion were not yet meaningless. For us the spirit of 1548 is so much easier to recapture than that of a century ago that some elements in the latter are almost bound to escape us. But what is beyond doubt is, that in an open debate between reaction and its adversaries, the latter was bound to win; a government which answers back is lost. The vague malaise which caused men to predict the Revolution before it descended upon them, the lack of fight put up by a Metternich or a Guizot when the moment came—both testify to the significance of this aspect of the preceding period.

It has often been pointed out that only two important countries were substantially untouched by the Revolution of 1848—Russia and Great Britain. In Russia the autocracy was still sufficiently sure of itself to develop and use the techniques of repression, the need of which had been demonstrated by the Decembrist revolt. In Great Britain—outside Ireland—the edge had been taken off radical criticism by the genuine reforms of the past twenty years. There the intellectuals were working with the main stream, not against it. In encouraging reform to avert Revolution—for instance in Italy—and in lending troops to end the Revolution in the Austrian Empire, Palmerston and Nicholas I respectively ran true to form. But in the vast area between the Channel and the frontiers of Tsardom, neither reform nor repression were serious and the intellectuals duly got their chance.

It is generally admitted that they failed. The list of positive achievements is indeed a short one, compared with the magnitude of the upheaval, and the audacity of some of its short-lived experiments in democracy and even social democracy. The consummation of peasant

emancipation in most of East Elbian and Danubian Europe, the infiltration there of representative institutions, though not of representative government, the abandonment of the French attempt to acclimatise Whiggism on the Continent—these were serious and important events. But they pale beside the negative upshot of the Revolution. The attempt to bridge by means of general ideas either class or national differences was as much a failure as the attempt to divorce the settlement of problems from the force which was to implement it. To understand such assemblies as that of Frankfurt we must think of such bodies as the General Assembly of the League of Nations, not of the British Parliament with its permanent and tested mechanism for bridging the distance between the ideal and the reality.

It is clear that however profound and generous the social thinking of the period, the men of 1848 were not, for the most part, fully aware of the range of interests and passions involved in any attempt to reshape the institutions of Europe and to redraw its map. Some of the misconceptions survived their authors and have remained to distort the historical picture. It has been left, for instance, for historians of our own day, with their greater attention to the relevance of technical and economic change, to point out that the towns which were the scenes of so many of the dramatic events of the period were still closer to the medieval towns in all but size than to the modern industrial agglomerations, that the discontent which flared up among their workers was directed against the industrial revolution by those whose livelihood it threatened or against conditions of life which the revolution had not had time to affect. The idea of the "national workshops" and the "right to work" would have been familiar to the privy council of late Tudor or early Stuart England. The proletarian movements had not yet been captured by the grandiose idea of an industrial revolution in ever greater momentum, yielding its dividends to those who worked its machines. In Great Britain where capitalism was most advanced,

the political simplicities of Chartism were still sufficient to absorb the leftward impulses of the working class, and when these failed it was to Co-operation, and later to Trade Unionism, that its energies were turned.

Only in retrospect is it clear that another full generation of industrial advance was required before the working classes of Western Europe acquired habits of independent political thought and action. And even then it was only part of a process to which a more definite direction would be given by the emergence of the modern social-service State, and of mass education as its essential instrument. It was the growing power of the impersonal State working in the name of popular sovereignty, of which dynasties where they existed were only the instruments, that was the dominant feature of Europe after 1848. The intellectuals had failed to understand or to use power. Now power would use them. There would be no second chance. The technical developments of the second half of the century were all against the chances of a new revolution from below. The beginnings of the French railway system had helped to prevent the Parisian populace from imposing its will on the rest of France in 1848 as it had been able to more do than once during the great Revolution. Railways, telegraphs, town-planning, the machine-gun and later the armoured-car and the tank—all these were to dispel the hopes of those who relied on the insurrection and the barricade. Centralisation was to dominate the ways of action and the modes of thought of political Left as well as of political Right. The Paris Commune of 1871 was not the harbinger of the twentieth-century revolution, but a despairing postscript to 1848. The violent overthrow of an existing social structure and of its state-machine can only come in the modern world as the result of a complete breakdown. Military defeatism and industrial sabotage—these are the weapons of the modern revolutionary.

We have travelled a long way since 1848. There are a number of ways along which one might seek to explain and analyse this development in state-power. The first is

that of Tocqueville's classic analysis as he first sketched it as a young man in his *Democracy in America* and later, after his political experiences in the 1840's, developed in his memoirs and in his unfinished study of the great Revolution and its antecedents. Tocqueville's supreme merit was his power to see the broad course of events beneath apparent contradictions in institutions and ideologies. The European monarchies had destroyed the feudal and local institutions which had kept the power of the State in check. The democratic movement with its levelling tendencies had hastened and not retarded the process. The democratic impulse had not been exhausted and was unlikely to be for a long time; the problem of the age was to devise the means by which it could protect itself against its own tendencies towards the exaltation of mediocrity. The distinction between liberalism and democracy—the most important distinction in nineteenth-century politics—was sensed by Tocqueville and by a few others, but was brushed aside by the heirs of the Jacobins and by the Utilitarians. For these regarded the distinction as an excuse for maintaining such indefensible class-privileges as the narrow propertied franchise of the July monarchy which it was, but also as being nothing more than an excuse, which it was not.

The outcome of the Revolution of 1848 in France seemed to justify the validity of the Tocqueville hypothesis. Much has been made of the orgy of repression with which the bourgeois republicans crushed the attempt to carry the Revolution forward into an uncharted realm of social experiment. The martyrs of the "June days" figure prominently on the calendar of the European revolution. But to regard the significance of the event as exhausted, when it has been used to demonstrate the ferocity of a propertied class confronted with a direct challenge to property rights, is to miss the deeper lesson of the subsequent elections. For these showed that the repudiation of this phase of the revolutionary movement was a popular one, that the libertarian impulse was

easily exhausted, and that a minority of proletarians and their attached intellectuals were no more regarded as capable of expressing the popular will, than the industrial nabobs and Orleanist aristocracy who had been overthrown in February. Aroused and frightened, desirous of security and comfort, the masses of Frenchmen had no wish to try to secure their objectives by the hard road of self-government. They were again prepared to be governed. And Louis Napoleon arrived on the scene not as the heir to the glories of Austerlitz but as the echo of an earlier phase in the great Napoleon's career. It was the Consulate which had ended the insupportable tensions of a decade of revolution, had restored social peace, and set the nation back on the highway of its institutional development. This time impatience of revolution came to a head quicker; unfortunately Napoleon had also been Emperor.

The second Empire, like the first, was a popular government owing nothing to the dynastic or the aristocratic principle. But although one cannot say what its fate might have been had it not fallen in the path of Bismarck's ambitions, it is unlikely that it could have endured. As the Republic receded, the Republican ideal acquired new lustre. Neither on the right nor on the left was there reconciliation.

For this reason, the analysis of events after 1848 in terms solely of the growth of State power is insufficient. What was of deep and tragic significance was the fact that State power was growing at a time when the competition to control it was, in France at least, growing in intensity and bitterness. And what happened in France was of consequence beyond its frontiers, even after the internationalism of the pre-1848 period gave way to the narrower vision of the separate national revolutionary movements of the later part of the century.

The Englishman's instinctive recoil from French history and French politics is due to his discovery of differences of opinion that cannot be bridged and that time does not heal. French history since the Reformation has



Revolutionary Meeting in a Berlin Cellar

witnessed a series of direct clashes between social classes and social ideas, with the result that the European nation with the strongest cultural unity is also the nation most deeply riven by political passion. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the subsequent religious persecutions have not been without their consequences. The Revolution ended the historic combination of monarch and *roturier* against the aristocracy and to some extent against the Church. The restored monarchy, unlike its eighteenth-century predecessor, saw its safety in an alliance of throne and altar and of both with their fellow-sufferer, the aristocracy. A sharp division between Right and Left was now, and was to remain, the central feature of French politics; and its central issue—for or against the French Revolution. The Revolution of 1830 saw the abandonment of the position taken up by Louis XVIII and Charles X, and Louis Philippe's reign was a political balancing trick by a *régime* upheld by the mutual antipathies of Right and Left, which united only in their contempt for the existing system. Nevertheless, the possibilities of a more healthy state of affairs might seem, on the English analogy, inherent in the existence of a parliamentary system, however limited in scope and authority. In France, as elsewhere in Europe, there was a certain decline from the rigidities of the immediately post-Napoleonic period, and not only the bourgeoisie and the working class but the monarchy, the aristocracy, and even the Church, were not impervious to new ideas. What might not happen in a Europe where a reputed liberal was elected Pope?

The effect in France, of 1848 and its sequel, was to redraw and to congeal the lines of division. The Church and a section of the bourgeoisie finally aligned itself with the Right, with a total repudiation of the revolutionary heritage. The Left was split into sections, each representing a different element in the revolutionary tradition but liable to crystallise into two sections only at moments of crisis. On the one side stood the increasingly powerful working-class element in French republicanism, divided

from the bourgeoisie by memories of the June days and later of the Paris Commune and its aftermath. On the other side were the peasantry and the lesser bourgeoisie, politically "radical" but socially conservative. The Empire obscured to some extent the tripartite division of the French political consciousness; the Third Republic saw its full efflorescence. Often misconceived as a multi-party system, it is the key to the understanding of the politics of modern France.

But France represents only one aspect of 1848, and its consequences. For an understanding of events elsewhere, new factors must be taken into account. For in dealing with France, there was one element which Tocqueville could take for granted, that of national unity and national independence. It was precisely this factor that was lacking elsewhere. France had its problems of foreign policy—Were the frontiers of 1815 to be accepted as definitive? What was to be France's attitude to liberalism and to clericalism abroad? But in Italy, in Germany and in the Austrian Empire, it was the national question, not questions of constitutional or social reform, which gave the Revolution its impulse. The peace-makers of Vienna had hoped that this factor in European politics could be ignored, and its explosive force contained. In so far as it was an intellectual concept, nationalism might even be killed by kindness. Bohemia might be easier, not harder, to govern, if the Czechs could be persuaded to concentrate upon the revival of their language and its literature. But with the universal growth of a middle class, and of a corresponding appetite for posts in government service and the allied liberal professions, language became a vital political factor. And nationalism, an idea most easily defined in terms of language, became the engine by which the intellectuals might best hope to exercise a leadership over the masses.

The intellectuals were both the beneficiaries and the victims of nationalism. The idea itself could not come into existence without them; it could not achieve its political aims without seeking other than intellectual

allies and techniques. In this respect the history of nationalism has run parallel to the history of socialism. Both were the products of an intense intellectual activity that derived its opportunities from the aristocratic and middle-class institutions of parliaments, universities and political newspapers. Both acted as disintegrating factors in the society which protected such institutions. In our own times, the final junction of the two impulses, taking different forms in different countries, has everywhere imperilled the *raison d'être* of the intellectual—the free operation of the human mind. It would be absurd to trace these consequences to the Revolution of 1848 and its failures ; but there is no doubt that the period after 1848 presents an altogether grimmer picture. The naked realities of power are more obviously exposed.

This is true of Italy. There, pure Republicanism provided an insufficient stiffening element in a country whose past development, and previous experience of different alien rulers, had left it a prey to fissiparous tendencies, which the uneven distribution of subsequent industrial development was to accentuate still further, after political unity had been achieved. Before it was achieved the simple heroics of a Garibaldi and a Manin had to give way to the wilier tactics of Cavour. Italian nationalism achieved its object through a correct assessment of European power-relationships, and the participation of Sardinia in the Crimean War provided an element of successful Machiavellianism, almost inconceivable to pre-1848 idealism. Nor, as Italy was later to discover, is undiluted Machiavellianism an altogether healthy diet for a young State.

The case of Italy has, of course, many special characteristics which afford a measure of excuse. In so far as the North Italian plain was the key, its fate was bound up with that of the other subject peoples of the Austrian Empire. More than any other country (even France and French Canada), it was affected by the Church's final and total repudiation of any form of liberalism. Less than any other country of comparable size, did Italy

contain the natural resources necessary for the typical forms of mid-nineteenth-century industrialism. Intense nationalism and intense vulnerability are an uneasy pair of qualities to go hand in hand.

But the key to 1848 was not France or Italy but Germany. It was in Germany that all the conflicting currents of the Revolution were present most decisively and the Revolution provides the most illuminating of links between the country's earlier and later history. The Germans since 1815 had been subject to pressures from three different sources. There was liberal nationalism, shading off into radical nationalism, seeing the unification of Germany as part of a process of modernising the country's social and political institutions; there was the narrower quasi-nationalism of the Prussian State and dynasty; and finally, the super-nationalism of the Habsburg Empire, in which the Germans were rulers but not unchallenged rulers. In the struggle for leadership in the German Confederation, the Prussians stood for something less than Germany as a whole; the Austrians for something more. But even Prussia was not wholly German, and the advocates of liberal nationalism could hardly spread their creed among the Germans and continue to deny national rights to the Poles—hardly, that is, without being made to face the issue of their relative scales of values. Indeed, despite the excitement of Polish *émigrés*, Prussian Poland was the only one of the three segments of this country which responded to the revolutionary wave of 1848. In Russian Poland, there stretched the unbroken night between the crushing of the revolt of 1830 and the outbreak of 1863. The latter was to show, however, that the Poles were not immune to the degradation of the national ideal, and that the claims which they advanced to self-determination were not to be applied in the historic lands of the Polish crown, where Poles themselves were in a minority. In Austrian Poland, the peasant rising of 1846 had shown the advantage which the Habsburgs derived from the Polish-Ukrainian antagonism.

Austria could not, it was clear, survive if the concept of German unity were to bring the German-speaking provinces into a unitary German state. Prussia without Austria could take the lead in a united Germany, but despite the initial failure of nerve on the part of the Prussian Government, the Hohenzollerns were not going to put the real instruments of power in Germany—their army and administrative machine—at the service of the intellectuals. Nor did the conduct of the latter suggest that they deserved it. For among the Germans, the national impulse, even at this early date, was an impulse towards domination, not liberation. In the quarrel with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein, the Germans, including Marx and Engels on the extreme Left, were all for a national war. And after some initial hesitation, the same disregard for the rights of others was manifested at the Frankfurt Assembly with regard to the Poles—a disregard tinged now with the old contempt for all the Slav peoples.

The lessons of 1848 were not lost on the genial statesman who took charge of Prussia's destinies in the following generation. The energies of German liberals were harnessed to the service of Germany's growing economic might; the German working class was bought off by social reform, and Prussia proceeded to found a united Germany, in its own way and in its own image. Of the German liberalism of 1848 on which such hopes had been put, the only traces of real consequence were those implanted in the American Middle West by Carl Schurz and other participants in the great burst of teutonic migration. They failed to emancipate the Germans, but helped to emancipate the negro slaves. Nor was another event of 1848 without its influence here—the Californian gold-rush and the opening to settlement of the great Far West.

The exclusion of Austria from the new Germany—it was to be ninety years before the same government ruled in Berlin and Vienna—left the way clear for another attempt to reconstruct the Habsburg Empire. Its

survival at all was surprising enough—that it survived until 1918 partakes of the nature of miracle. For the principles which it upheld—the superiority of the dynastic tie, the contempt for national self-determination, the clear priority for aristocrat over bourgeois—could not have been less typical of the nineteenth-century spirit. Beaten by the French in 1859, and by the Prussians in 1866, for the immediate benefit of the Italians in each case, the Austrians nevertheless managed to hold on to all except their Italian lands.

Personalities and policies count for much in this *tour de force*. But substantially, the Austrian Empire was upheld by the divisions among its enemies at home and by its utility abroad. The fear of the Revolution led the Russians to give it military support in the crisis, and later when Russia began to compete with Austria in the Balkans, Germany was found ready for her own reasons to prop up the structure for a little longer. Internally, it was the very universality of the divisions among the races of the Empire that prevented these divisions from proving fatal in themselves. The custom has been to divide these peoples into the historic and non-historic nationalities. Not only the Germans, but the Magyars, the Czechs and the Poles (as well as the Italians of course), had traditions not merely of independent statehood, but of dominion over others. As the history of Poland and Czechoslovakia after 1918 shows clearly, to acquiesce in the boundaries within which the historic nationalities wished to assert their claims involved some degree of subordination of other peoples. And by 1848, these others were themselves affected, if not yet as intensely, by the prevailing nationalist current. Against the Magyars in particular could be set the Roumanians of Transylvania, and the Slovak and other Slav minorities, while another group of Slavs—Croats and Slovenes—could be used against the Germans and Italians. Since the Czechs had their Germans, and the Poles their Ukrainians (or Ruthenians), there was, except for the German core, no part of the Habsburg dominions for

which a straight nationalist solution was possible ; and for the Germans of the Austrian provinces to adopt a purely German solution, was to abandon the islets of Germans scattered throughout south-eastern Europe to the rule of their " inferiors ".

Nothing so drastic happened. A slightly liberalised or parliamentarised version of the old Empire reappeared and the major change was the taking of the Hungarians into full partnership, at the inevitable expense of the unhistoric nationalities of the Hungarian periphery. The vulnerability of Austria to Slav nationalism became the dominant factor of continental politics along with Franco-German rivalry, and the proximate if not the ultimate cause of the First World War.

The tendencies which 1848 revealed as dominant in the life of continental Europe continued to colour its sequels, but did not develop everywhere at the same pace or in the same strength. The growth of nationalism was indeed almost a constant of the next hundred years, as one people after another asserted its rights to a separate existence. After the " unhistoric " nationalities of Austro-Hungary (as it now was) came the even more " unhistoric " nationalities of the Russian borderlands—Letts, Estonians, Lithuanians, White Russians. Even the Jews, the only people scattered throughout the whole area, looked for a refuge from the persecutions engendered by the nationalism of others, to a nationalist solution of their own.

The importance attached to national self-determination increased with the importance of the State itself. After 1848, the State carried all before it, exchanging benefits to the new social classes against increasing claims for revenue and personal service. The peace of the Metternich-Guizot era was over. The 1850's saw the beginning of a series of new wars—the Crimean, the war in Italy, the German war against Denmark, the Austro-Prussian, and finally, the Franco-Prussian war—the culmination of Bismarckian policy. On the other side of the Atlantic, the descendants of those who had fled

Europe to avoid her wars and her conscript armies, found themselves involved in war on a scale, and of a ferocity, hitherto rare in the annals of the old world, though destined to be outstripped in our own day.

The material advances which Macaulay rightly celebrated in his great *History of England* (of which the first volume appeared in 1848) continued at an even greater pace in the second half of the century. Life became less toil-worn, healthier and more comfortable for most Europeans. But the liberal optimism which had accompanied the first stages of the advance began to disappear. The political and moral disquiet outweighed the manifest benefits on the material side. Perhaps the last echo of the old spirit came in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, when the dynasties finally crumbled and an apparent respect for liberal principles animated the constitutions of nearly all the new Europe. The League of Nations suggested the possibility of a peaceful harmonising of the claims of the peoples newly liberated from their old servitudes. But the old dilemmas were not long in making their appearance. Once again the choice was made: for nationalism against liberalism, for extending the powers of the State against any internationalism more than verbal. In a time of great economic upheaval largely the product of war, neglected aspects of the thought of 1848 came into their own again. The backward Slav masses, so despised by Marx and Engels, received their gospel and proceeded to adapt it to their own needs. Elsewhere in Europe between the wars, and after the second and still more destructive contest, the same doctrine of unmitigated class war, the same repudiation of the claims of the individual and of humanity raised its head again. In 1948, the year of revolutions seemed in retrospect less a springtide of hope than a warning of the wrath to come.

by T. A. Jackson

1848 AND THE BIRTH OF MARXIAN COMMUNISM



Two things make the year 1848 outstandingly noteworthy: (1) It witnessed a wave of revolution which set thrones rocking and governments falling all across Europe, from the Atlantic to the Russian frontier, and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. (2) It saw the birth of Marxian Communism, in that it brought the first publication of what has since proved a *credo* of all "scientific" Socialism and Communism, in the historic *Manifesto* of the Communist League, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The Events of the Year of Revolution

To describe in adequate detail all the dramatic happenings of this "mad year", from the February revolution in Paris to the fall of the last stronghold in Hungary in September, 1849—with all the complex consequences of these stirring events—would require a volume. Here, we are concerned primarily with analysis and interpretation. But a few outstanding phenomena must be set out to provide a starting-point.

Broadly, then, the revolutionary convulsion affected chiefly France, the thirty-six states, big and little, which then comprised what we know as Germany, the Austrian Empire, and the various states of Italy, which included the Papacy as the temporal power ruling Central Italy.

Before the struggle began, the leading "powers" in Europe were listed by the *Communist Manifesto* as "Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot". Of these, the Tsar kept his throne without difficulty—save for a little trouble with the Poles. But the Pope, Guizot (the Prime Minister of France), and Metternich (the Chancellor of the

Austrian Empire), were all driven into exile, along with the King of France and the Emperor of Austria.

In the course of the struggle, Republics were proclaimed in France, Germany, Austria, Venice, Rome and Baden, while an endeavour was made to secure national independence by Poles, Czechs, Croats, Hungarians, Italians and (though on a smaller scale) Irishmen.

Britain itself did not escape without at least a scare, since the Chartist movement in its last flare-up seemed on the point of a mass insurrection—and, indeed, men were prosecuted and convicted on the charge of conspiring precisely to that end.

And what came of it all ?

By the end of 1849, things were—just as they had been ; with the trifling difference that a few score leaders of republican revolt had fled into exile—in place of the monarchs, who had returned. The exception was the “ Citizen ” King of France, whose exile was permanent. But here “ the exception proved the rule ”, since the President, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who had taken his place, was soon (December 2nd, 1851) to make himself, by a military *coup d'état*, the Emperor Napoleon III.

“ Up like the rocket, and down like the stick ! ” That, in a nutshell, is the story of the Revolutions of 1848.

Why did the Revolution Fail ?

It stands out as a problem challenging rational elucidation—why, if it was going to end like this, did the revolution ever break out at all ? And why, if there was an adequate reason for the outbreak, did it achieve only this dismal result ?

Various explanations may be offered, according to the standpoint of the critical observer.

To your true-blue Conservative, the revolution failed for the good and sufficient reason that it was—a *revolution* ; that is, an irrational and suicidal attempt to “ undermine the foundations of society ”, to substitute Anarchy

for Order, and, generally, to menace Religion, the Family, and Property.

A more reasoned variant upon this theory—whose *real* pre-supposition is that the private ownership of land and capital stands foremost among the “powers that be”, which are according to Scripture “ordained of God”—is the supposition that the revolution failed because of the extravagant demands of the Party of Progress, and the impatience of its leading advocates. It is to be observed, say the advocates of this view, that all the major demands of the revolution have since then been conceded without serious disturbances to society, and with no loss to either Order, Religion, the Family, or Property. Constitutional governments, from which medieval absolutism and feudal survivals had been excluded, replaced in time all the apparatus of restriction and repression which the Holy Alliance regarded as indispensable even after Waterloo, and which “Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot” laboured diligently to preserve. Germany and Italy each in time achieved the unification which the men of ’48 agonised in vain to bring about. Czechs, Croats, Hungarians and Poles, have all achieved a *de jure* as well as a *de facto* recognition of their national independence; and if the Nationalist dream of a United Irish Republic has been, so far, thwarted, the quasi-“dominion” status achieved by the 26-county area of Eire, with the existence of a separate Parliament for the 6-county area of Northern Ireland, constitute together an immense advance upon the situation as it was in 1848.

In Britain, too, though the Chartist movement failed dismally, and indeed ignominiously, five out of six points of the Charter have long since, in fact or in essence, formed part of the British Constitution. We do not, it is true, have a yearly general election; but, then, it is very doubtful whether the Chartist leaders themselves would see any need for one under modern conditions. Equal electoral districts are not established in any strict form; but the principle is conceded, and periodical revision of

the constituencies goes, in effect, as far towards that ideal as would have contented most reasonable Chartists. The other points of the Charter—No property-qualification for M.P.s ; Universal Suffrage ; Vote by Ballot ; Payment of Members—are now so much commonplaces that it costs an effort to recapture the frame of mind of the men who saw in them things which would make an end of Order, Religion, and all the rest.

Indeed, in one respect, history in Britain has proved more radical than all but a tiny fraction of the Chartists themselves. It has conceded votes to women, and admitted women to the House of Commons, and even to the Treasury Bench. (So far they have been kept out of the House of Lords ! But for how long—who knows ?)

The conclusion drawn by moderate-conservatives and conservative-liberals is that the revolutions of 1848 failed because the “ demagogic ” leaders aimed at too much too quickly. It is, say they, *slowly* that freedom “ broadens down from precedent to precedent ”.

Radicals and Conservatives agree in thinking that the revolution was precipitated by the growth of ideological unrest. They differ in their estimate of the validity and the urgency of the ideology in question.

To the Radicals, especially the Romantic Republicans, the ideas which impelled the excitements of 1848 were those which had played such a world-shaking part in the great French Revolution of 1789 onwards. These, as they were easily able to show, were the ideas of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and the other Fathers of the Republican Constitution of the U.S.A. Earlier still, they had been the ideas of Milton's Good Old Cause, the ideas of the English Revolutions of 1640 and 1688.

With such a pedigree who could doubt or question that these ideas were intrinsically sound and just ? If it had, in fact, proved to be “ premature ” to attempt their realisation in the Continental revolution of 1848, why had they proved so eminently practicable in Britain and the U.S.A. ?

It could only be because the men who fought for the

ideas had proved to be faint-hearted or lacking in faith, or, alternatively, because those who opposed malignantly their realisation, proved in practice more evil and more malicious than had been supposed, and better able than their righteous opponents to practise successfully upon the ignorance and prejudice of the uninstructed masses.

The Marxian View

All these subjective interpretations are countered and critically transcended by the Marxian view which traces the phenomena of revolution and counter-revolution to *objective* historical causation, and envisages the outcome as determined by the balance of contending class forces.

"All history hitherto," says the *Communist Manifesto*, "has been the history of class struggles. . . . Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeymen, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted now hidden and now open fight—a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . .

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has only established new classes, new conditions of oppression and new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great classes directly confronting one another—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."

On the Marxian view, the ultimate causation of the explosions of 1848 was the further historical development and expansion of the bourgeois mode of production, producing, in consequence, a new crisis of conflict between the hopes and aspirations of the rising bourgeoisie and the ideas, institutions and state apparatus

left over from the feudal Middle Ages. Previous collisions, of great historical moment, had taken the form of the Protestant Reformation, of the English Revolutions of the seventeenth century, and of the great French Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century. Now, in the nineteenth century, had come the turn of the Continent of Europe as it had been re-established by the "Holy Alliance" of the victors after Waterloo.

By 1848 the development of bourgeois production, especially as impelled by the industrial revolution in Britain, with its consequences for the Continent, had shown the post-Waterloo resettlement and restoration of aristocracy and monarchical absolutism to be no longer tenable or endurable. Hence, over the whole area East of Britain and West of Russia ruled by the monarchs of the Holy Alliance and their ministries, a general wave of revolutionary unrest and uprising took place.

No doubt ideas and ideologies were called into play on both sides. But equally without doubt, is the fact that the essential issue at stake was the conflict between the interests of the bourgeoisie plus the *near-bourgeoisie*, and those of the established order—the monarchy with its appanages and dependants, and the feudal aristocracy. It was a crisis of *class-conflict*, a further stage in the revolutionary bid for power of the bourgeoisie.

This Marxian concept involves the acceptance of Marx's "materialist conception of history", which is, for its disciples, neither more nor less than the science of society and the laws of its development. Frederick Engels thus defines this conception :

"In every historic epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation following necessarily thencefrom, form a basis on which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

In evaluating this conception, it is usual to lay special stress upon the primacy it assigns to "economic production and exchange". If this is done too one-sidedly, the

conception becomes a merely mechanical determinism of so rigid a character as to distort completely and indeed *invert* Marx's plain meaning.

One avoids this error best if one begins with the point noted by Engels, that society in the course of its historical advance, passes through a succession of distinct "epochs". For appreciable periods, the general pattern of society persists through a whole multitude of changes in detail. But this persistence has been repeatedly upset and changed into a new pattern by the emergence of periods of revolutionary transition.

In other words : the *continuous advance* of human society is attained through a *discontinuous* succession of separate and qualitatively distinct historical epochs, each of which corresponds to a definite stage in the development of mankind's powers of production.

All human society, past, present and to come, presupposes economic production. Unless men produce, that is, actively transform nature-given materials, there can be neither means of consumption nor means of further production. Without production the existence of human beings at any level higher than that of mere animals is quite unthinkable. Economic activity is, therefore, the most general presupposition of all social existence and of all historical development.

But, economic activity is conditioned not only by men's available equipment, and the natural resources within their reach, but also by the quantity and the quality of the relations between men in the producing society. Economic activity, therefore, not only goes through its own process of evolutionary development, but finds expression also in the consequences of this development in the changing social relations between men. Thus, the Marxian conception of history envisages it as advancing necessarily through a succession of stages, each of which has been in its turn, first of all made possible by, and then necessitated by, the progressive emergence of new *qualities* in the quantitative accumulation of mankind's powers of production.

Engels speaks, it will be observed, of "modes" of production and exchange, and with them of the "social organisation following necessarily thencefrom".

It should be self-evident that it will make a great difference for individual men whether the society in which they live is a small society maintaining itself by self-contained utility-production—with little or no dependence upon exchange with other societies—or, whether it is a complex society dependent almost entirely upon commodity-production and upon exchanges in an expanding or contracting market.

Similarly, it makes all the difference in the world for the political and cultural institutions of society, whether the actual labour production is undertaken by free-producers, independent artisans, slaves, serfs, or plain wage-labourers.

For our present purposes, the central point to grasp, is the expanding and intensifying antagonism, friction and conflict between the needs and interests of the bourgeoisie—producing commodities destined for sale in the market by the agency of wage-labour—and who, therefore, are interested in the freedom for unlimited expansion, alike of production and the market for their products—and the interests of the feudal aristocracy and monarchy which, in general, lay in an opposite direction.

Feudal society, essentially hierarchical in structure, presupposed basically a *localised* utility production. Each manorial unit in the feudal aggregate produced primarily means of consumption for the producing serfs and their lord, his household, and his retainers of various grades. Only the surplus of products above and beyond local needs, entered into exchange, and did so usually to secure luxury goods for "ostentatious consumption" by the lord and his entourage. The feudal hierarchy, therefore, was interested in the market only so far as it provided a convenience, and so far as it could be exploited by the imposition of tolls, way-leaves, and other exactions. The hierarchy was especially interested in so limiting production for the market (localised in the towns) that it did not

trench into or imperil the localised utility production which was the presupposition of the feudal mode of exploitation.

This brings out the basic difference between the economy of the bourgeoisie and that of the feudal aristocracy. Each economy involved exploitation—of wage-labour in the one case, of servile labour in the other. And bourgeois and feudal lord alike were greedy to the limit to extract the last possible ounce each by his own mode of exploitation. But, whereas the feudal lord seeks his gain primarily to secure an enlargement of his state and significance through an increasing ostentation in luxurious consumption, the bourgeois, under pressure of intensifying competition must “plough back” into production the major portion of his gains. The essential condition for survival in bourgeois production is a progressive accumulation of Capital. Hence, the bourgeoisie’s need for an ever-expanding market. And, hence, too, the gathering fury of the bourgeoisie, not only at the whole hierarchy of local and general restraints and constraints imposed by feudalism upon the expansion of the market and upon the growth of production therefor, but also and especially at the rapacious demands of the aristocracy and the monarchy to maintain the degree of luxurious ostentation their conventional status and its style and state called for. As will be self-evident from these general considerations, the complex and archaic state-system restored to Germany after the defeat of Napoleon and the overthrow of his Empire—a system which divided Germany between some thirty-six different “sovereign” rulers—kings, electoral-princes, grand-dukes and “free” cities, each with its own distinct legal, fiscal, and financial systems—was totally incompatible with the requirements of bourgeois production and the rule of the bourgeoisie. And the more bourgeois production expanded under the impetus of steam-power and the factory system imported from Britain, the more inevitable became the explosion of a revolutionary crisis.

What was true of Germany was equally true of the ramshackle Austrian Empire, which imposed its feudal sway over Poles, Czechs, Croats, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Slovenes and Italians and, in alliance with the Papacy, over central and southern Italy, despite the nominal "independence" of the states into which non-Austrian Italy was divided.

And the certainty of an explosion was even greater in France since, despite the restoration of the Bourbons—a restoration only slightly modified by the driving away of the senior branch in favour of the junior line represented by Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans—despite this, the gains of the great Revolution remained in the centralised state and the greater freedom for expansion these gains secured to the bourgeoisie.

It was inevitable that an explosion of revolution in France must precipitate sympathetic explosions all across Europe.

Marxism and Romantic Liberalism

It will be seen that while the whole Marxist approach differs radically in quality from that of Romantic Liberalism and Republicanism, the materialist conception of history, as above outlined, provides a good deal of justification for the exalted enthusiasm of the revolutionary Romantics of 1848.

As compared with feudalism, bourgeois society does unquestionably achieve an enormous increase in the overall potentiality of human society. The struggle to free the market and production for the market from the restraints and constraints of feudalism and absolutism, was therefore quite seriously entitled to pride itself upon attempting to achieve an immense liberation of the human spirit through the attainment of a vastly enlarged power of production, a far higher level of living—with a great enhancement of fruitful leisure—for at any rate the privileged owners and controllers of the means of production.

The *Communist Manifesto* pays this tribute—a somewhat

left-handed one, but still a tribute—to the bourgeois mode of production :

“ It (the bourgeoisie) has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals ; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and Crusades. . . .

“ The bourgeoisie during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature’s forces to man ; machinery ; application of chemistry to industry and agriculture ; steam navigation ; railways ; electric telegraphs ; clearing of whole continents for cultivation ; canalisation of rivers ; whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour ? ”

So far, and especially for those who approach the question as the romantics do, wholly in terms of the abstract opposition of the Individual to the Tyrant State (and *vice versa*), the bourgeoisie justifies and has justified all the claims it made for itself in its days of revolutionary enthusiasm.

Where it fails—as it does most dismally—is in its failure to perceive behind the illusory veil of the Abstract Individual and his unqualified Freedom, the coldly repellant reality of class difference, and class antagonism—and the bitter truth of expanding and intensifying exploitation.

The bourgeoisie achieves all it set out to achieve, save only this—it achieves it not for mankind as a whole, but only for *itself as a class*, and even then achieves it increasingly in a widening disproportion for a narrowing ruling stratum within its own ranks.

To quote the *Communist Manifesto* again :

“ The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties which

bound man to his 'natural superiors', and has left no other nexus between man and man than callous cash payment. . . .

"It has resolved personal worth into exchange value ; and in place of the numberless indefensible chartered freedoms has set up that single unconceivable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation veiled by religious and political illusions it has substituted naked, shameless, direct brutal exploitation. . . . It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers."

The fate of the revolutionary upheaval of 1848 provides a decisive test of the worth of the Romantic Liberal and the Marxist approach respectively.

The revolution failed ; of that there can be no question. And, despite the innumerable circumstances in its favour at the outset—failed more dismally than any revolutionary explosion on record. Called upon to account for this failure, Romantic Liberalism can do little beyond beating its own breast and affirming on its honour that if Fate were just it most certainly *ought* to have succeeded. The pitiful story of the revolutionary-romantics in exile—their fits of exalted boasting, varied by mean and spiteful jealousies and quarrels among themselves ; their accusation and counter-accusation of each other of "betraying" the revolutionary cause ; their final degeneration through inept hole-and-corner conspiracies into oblivion or worse—desertion to the other side ; all these things constitute a criticism passed by real life upon the illusions of romantic liberalism and republicanism.

Marxism, on the contrary, has its own explanation of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 : the bourgeoisie (and the *near-bourgeoisie*) found in actual practice that they could not succeed in overthrowing and uprooting the relics of feudalism without drawing into the struggle the "lower orders", the mass of the proletariat and the poorer peasantry ; and could not rouse these masses to energetic revolutionary struggle without running the risk that they would attempt to carry the revolution far

beyond bourgeois *norms* and make of it a real social (and socialist or even communist) revolution. Rather than run this risk the bourgeoisie everywhere found a pretext—more or less hypocritical—for making a deal with feudalism and absolutism.

This is how it came to be that all that was ever realised of the revolutionary programme of 1848 was instituted not as a gain conquered by mass-uprising from below, but as an administrative “reform” imposed by authority from above. It has been fateful for Germany in particular that all its historical advances from medievalism and feudalism have come about, not in a revolutionary way—there has been, so far, not one successful *popular* revolution in Germany—but always in a counter-revolutionary way, as a “reform” to stave-off and inhibit mass-revolution from below.

Marxism and the concept of Proletarian Revolution

To get a proper perspective from the Marxian explanation for the failure of the revolutions of 1848, it is necessary to bear in mind the general historical sequence of the bourgeois revolution from which Marxism draws its deductions.

Firstly, it must be premised that, as the bourgeois mode of production is specifically commodity production through the agency of wage-labour, the rise of the bourgeoisie is conditioned upon, and involves not merely the existence of, a proletariat from which to draw this wage-labour, but also, and that progressively, the development of that proletariat in numbers, in social significance, and in self-conscious integrity and solidarity in militant struggle.

Secondly, it must be noted that the proletariat has nothing to gain from the overthrow of the bourgeoisie until after the bourgeoisie has established itself as a ruling-class and abolished the conditions for feudal exploitation. To aid the feudalists, for example, to crush the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, would be for the proletariat to exchange the status of wage-worker, with all its



Paris Barricade in the June Days

potentialities, for that of a serf, with all its drastic repressions and inhibitions. So much, at least, has been learned in our own day by those misguided proletarians who were duped into aiding the counter-revolutionary triumph of that neo-feudalism which disguised its nakedness under the names of Fascism and National Socialism.

Consequently, it is not surprising to find that at each successive stage of the bourgeois revolution, the proletarian and near-proletarian masses are drawn into the struggle on the revolutionary side and provide usually the shock-troops of the vanguard. Nor is it surprising that these shock-troops, exalted by victory, should, at each stage of the bourgeois revolution, entertain the illusion that they are then and there able to carry the revolution beyond the limits of historical possibility to make of it a real proletarian revolution.

Thus the general European uprising against the Papacy, the first general uprising of the bourgeoisie known to history as the Protestant Reformation, did not end without its Peasant War, and the episode of the Anabaptist "City of God" in Münster.

Upon the English Revolution of 1640 followed the abortive attempt of the Levellers. The great French Revolution had in addition to the Reign of Terror, the period of virtual dictatorship of the Parisian *sans-culottes*, the episode of Gracchus Babœuf and his Conspiracy of the Equals (from which Marx traces the beginnings of "Utopian" communism).

In these earlier episodes the proletariat was still in the nascent stage at which it was only partially distinguished from the petty-bourgeoisie (as these in turn were imperfectly distinguished from the bourgeoisie proper). Thus it was easy for the proletariat to take the libertarian illusions of the bourgeoisie at their face value, and to seek naïvely to translate them into positive deeds, in which, necessarily, the proletariat met with nothing but frustration and disaster.

By 1848 the proletariat was far more significant numerically than it had been, and far better concen-

trated by economic developments for united and decisive political action. Also, it had acquired the beginnings of a political ideology of its own, in the form of a vaguely diffused sentimental and utopian socialism and communism derived directly and indirectly from the various quasi-socialist and communist sects in which attempts had been made to work out the logical conclusions of the equalitarian aspirations of the Jacobin period.

Thus by 1848, the proletariat was a far more risky weapon for the bourgeoisie to use than it had been in any earlier stage—and this became apparent, especially to the German bourgeoisie, from the slogans and the course of the February revolution in France.

The Days of June, Paris, 1848

When the Monarchy of the Citizen King, Louis-Philippe, fell in France, it did so primarily in consequence of the decisive militancy of the Parisian proletariat, led into action by the quasi-communist secret societies led by Armand Barbés and Auguste Blanqui. The bourgeois Radicals had been very noisy, and the petty-bourgeois "blue" Republicans had applauded them vociferously, but when Premier Guizot tried repression—by forbidding the banquets at which demands for Reform were to be put forward—it was the proletariat which accepted the challenge, built the barricades and confronted first the National Guard, then the regular Army, with the clear-cut alternative of either joining the revolution or fighting it out on the spot. When first the National Guard, then the Army, refused to fight, and actively or virtually joined the revolution, no power existed whereby the Monarchy could be maintained.

The proletariat had fought with red flags flying, and although it acquiesced in the provisional government of bourgeois Liberals and republicans, headed by the romantic poet Alphonse de Lamartine, its clamours forced this government not merely to proclaim a Republic out of hand, but also to declare that its policy would be "social" as well as "liberal". Two socialists of sorts

were given subordinate posts in the new government, and one of them being the *doctrinaire* utopian Louis Blanc, the government also made a show of adopting Blanc's panacea of the Right to Work and the Organisation of Labour. National Workshops were established to absorb the unemployed, whose numbers and acute sufferings had made the Parisian proletariat so ready for desperate courses, and made, too, the petty-bourgeoisie very chary about resisting them.

It hardly needs to be said that in their actual conduct these National Workshops differed profoundly from the state-aided guilds of skilled craftsmen which constituted the essence of Louis Blanc's scheme. They provided, in fact, little more than out-door relief disguised under a pretence of "public works"—very largely digging holes only to fill them again.

But even so, that the Provisional Government of the newly re-born French Republic should find the Parisian proletariat so strong, so militant and so indoctrinated with "socialist" and even "communist" notions that "dangerous" concessions had to be made to their prejudices, gave serious food for thought to the German bourgeoisie to whom history was about to present a ready-made revolutionary situation, as it were, upon a salver!

"The Communists," declares the *Manifesto*, "turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution . . . and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be only the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

Actual events falsified this confident prediction. But chiefly because the German bourgeoisie took much the same view of the possible course of events as the authors of the *Manifesto*, and therefore, soft-pedalled their own revolution—even in the end to downright desertion—rather than run the risk of merely preparing the way for the rule of the proletariat. And they were encouraged in this course by the success of the Provisional Government

in France in so manipulating the situation that the proletariat was first of all isolated and then crushed in the bloody four-days' barricade battle of the Days of June, in Paris, 1848.

Till then it had been a commonly accepted belief that an armed uprising-in-mass of the population of a capital city such as Paris, was bound to prove all-but irresistible. Nothing had so secured the first Napoleon in the awed admiration of the bourgeoisie as his success in scattering such an uprising with a "whiff of grape-shot" from a few well-planted cannon. Fearing a mass-attempt at insurrection by the London Chartists on April 10th, 1848, the British government placed the "victor of Waterloo" in charge of the defence of London, and he, the Iron Duke, made more elaborate preparations, and had indeed more British regular troops ready for use, than he had been able to make or to use in decisively defeating Napoleon. That the Chartists did not make the attempt sent the British bourgeoisie into a delirium of joyful relief. But it was left for the "revolutionary-republican" government of France—a government headed by a romantic poet and orator—to demonstrate once and for all that with modern weapons and an army that can be relied upon, even a mass-uprising of the population of a capital city can be met, checked, and decisively defeated.

It is instructive in the light of our own time to note the technique employed for the ends of this counter-revolution.

Firstly, full advantage was taken of the lack of ideological and organisational coherence in the ranks of the proletariat, itself a consequence of the division and conflict between militant "Red" republicans and communists of the one part and the various schools of sentimental and utopian socialists on the other.

Broadly speaking doctrinaire-utopian-socialism and pre-Marxist Communism accepted in common the belief that the question at issue was one of "the distribution of available wealth", especially in consumables. It was

totally ignorant of the great truth first expounded by Marx that only a new *mode of production* could make possible a "just" mode of distribution. Thus, whereas the socialists of various grades hugged the delusion that a bettered distribution could be brought about by the "benevolent" administration of one or other of a multitude of doctrinaire schemes of equalisation, the "communist" held to the ultra-Jacobin, Babœuvist tradition, that "the rich who are not willing to renounce their superfluities for the benefit of the poor and the indigent are the enemies of the people". Thus, in practice, while the socialists looked to the bourgeoisie for relief and pinned their hopes on its progressive humanisation, the communists on the other hand, especially as led by the old-implacable, Auguste Blanqui, thought always in terms of Jacobin dictatorship—of the sounding of the tocsin, the drum-beat of the General Assembly, the mass-outpouring with pike and gun, the high-piled barricade and the red flag of revolutionary defiance.

Bad blood and mutual jealousy and distrust divided fatally the leaders of red republicans (Armand Barbés) and communists (Auguste Blanqui) respectively. Each was betrayed by his impatience into attempting a *coup* which led only to his own arrest and imprisonment.

Meanwhile, the farce of the National Workshops was maintained—along with much talk of "the fraternal union of all classes"—to keep the socialists obsessed with the illusion that the Provisional Government was bound in the end to go their way. And while the farce proceeded, the government, through the general of its choice, Changarnier, gathered in and near Paris all the troops it felt it could most absolutely rely upon. Doubtful corps were transferred to the further corners of France or to Algeria. In addition a special corps was raised, the *Garde Mobile*, into which was recruited for preference, all the toughest elements that could be attracted from the slums or selected judiciously from the gaols.

It was this *Garde Mobile* which was the master-stroke, since its general degeneracy made it ready for any bru-

tality, while its specialised knowledge of all the back-alleys and courts was an invaluable asset in the sort of battle that was contemplated.

When the time was ripe, the Provisional Government resigned its powers to General Changarnier after, as a final act, decreeing the closing-down of the National Workshops—which had provided the mass of the proletariat with its only means of subsistence. Naturally, the Parisian proletariat replied by building its barricades and proclaiming itself in insurrection.

Changarnier declared a state of siege and the fight was on. Never before had the barricades been so numerous or so formidable as in this fight of the Days of June in which the Parisian proletariat for the first time stood alone “fighting for its own hand”. But the preparations made proved adequate, and in the end, when artillery even failed to demolish the barricades, they were turned, one after the other, by the simple device of breaking through the walls of the houses on either side.

Such an invasion of the “right of inviolable domicile” had never previously been contemplated as possible. It was, however, just the sort of thing which would appeal to the slum elements and gaol-birds in the *Garde Mobile*, who came in handy, too, for the indiscriminate butchery of the prisoners, from which the regular troops shrank in horror. It is significant of much that the counter-revolutionary technique of the Days of June has provided, since then, the basic notion from which has been elaborated the technique of Fascist counter-revolution in all its forms.

The Sign of the Double-Cross

The revolutionary Parisian proletariat was butchered with fearful slaughter by the “authorities” which it had helped to instal by a successful revolution. And this element of the double-cross runs all through the events of 1848.

When the common people—workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals—of South Germany and Baden rose

eventually in revolt and proclaimed the German Republic in defiance of the revolutionary parliament assembled in Frankfurt (whose "revolutionary" labours, so far, had gone little beyond providing a "constitutional" fig-leaf for the naked dictatorship of the Kingdom of Prussia over all Germany), it was the troops thus endowed with authority by the quasi-revolutionary Frankfurt assembly, which crushed the rising, as they had crushed earlier the revolutionary nationalist movement of the Poles in Prussian Poland, likewise with the approval of the Frankfurt assembly.

And when Vienna had risen in revolt and was fighting for its life against the troops of the Emperor who had been driven into precipitate flight, the Frankfurt Assembly could barely find the strength or the energy to send Vienna so much as good wishes.

Similarly, though Poles, Czechs, Croats, Hungarians and Italians were all simultaneously in revolt against one and the same Austrian Emperor and Empire, no sort of concerted action seemed ever to have been contemplated. The Polish movement was crushed by Prussia. Timely concessions to the semi-feudal leader of the Croats secured his aid, with his troops, in crushing first the Czechs, then the Viennese, and finally, the Hungarians. The leader of the Hungarian revolt, Louis Kossuth, did, it is true, lead his army to the frontier from which he was less than a day's march away from hard-pressed Vienna. But, as he was leading his "independence struggle" with a due regard for the canons of romantic Art, he could not possibly cross that frontier until he had been requested to do so formally by a properly-constituted "revolutionary" authority! (Smith O'Brien, who, leading a republican insurrection in Tipperary, in July, 1848, would not allow his followers to fell trees with which to build barricades, until they had first obtained permission of their owner or his agent, had nothing on Louis Kossuth when it came to doing the correct thing.) The Viennese workers and intellectuals, too, though they twice rose in fierce insurrection, and fought manfully

long after the day was clearly lost, found nothing inconsistent in volunteering in shoals to help the Imperial General Radetzky crush the Italian national revolt, and overthrow the re-born Republic of Venice defended so gallantly by Daniel Manin. And, crowning touch of all, it was the troops of the French Republic, fresh from their exploits in the Days of June, whom the Prince-President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte sent to overthrow the Roman Republic defended by Garibaldi, and to restore the Pope to his temporal power. That these same troops should afterwards carry through the *coup* which destroyed the French Republic and replaced it with the Second Empire of Napoleon III was, after all, a natural sequel.

The Communist Manifesto Today

That the authors of the *Communist Manifesto*, being young men, suffered, as young men will, from an illusory over-optimism, cannot be denied. The bourgeoisie, in Germany, as elsewhere, proved to be even more resourceful for evil than even they had anticipated. And on the other hand, the proletariat, even in France, proved to be far too immature, far too little experienced and consolidated, to carry through the historical process envisaged for them in the *Manifesto*. But its general conception, alike of the historical process of bourgeois society and of the cumulative significance of the proletariat and the revolutionary, self-transcending quality of its historical struggles, and the advances so won—in these respects, the *Manifesto* stands out as unique. It is the one and only political pronouncement ever made which, republished after the lapse of a century, proves to be in essence even more valid as a guide to action than when it was written.

It might be supposed that because the *Manifesto* appeared early in 1848, all the revolutionary explosions of that year could be traced to its evil influence.

Actually, events so far outstripped the pace at which the *Manifesto* struggled into circulation, that it played—and

could play—only an infinitesimal part in determining the course of events. The *idea*, says Marx, “becomes a material force when it seizes hold of the masses”, but it can so seize them when, and so far as, they have received in real life the preparation which enables them to receive it, and be roused to action by it.

Twenty-three years after the publication of the *Manifesto*, in his passionate vindication of yet another Parisian revolt—the ill-fated Commune of '71 which was suppressed with even greater bloodshed and brutality than was the revolt of the Days of June, 1848—Marx gave an even profounder exposition of the progressive transformation of the proletariat into complete revolutionary maturity :

“The working-men did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no Utopias ready-made to introduce by ‘decree of the people’. They know that their ends can be attained only through *prolonged struggles*, through a whole historic epoch *transforming circumstances and men*.”

This historical transformation of the proletariat, in quality as well as in quantity—a transformation which converts it from a tiny minority into what is, actually or in effect, an immense majority, and transforms it too, from a dispersed, incoherent aggregate, into something which hourly approximates ever more closely to a completely integrated unity—is vital. From a mere category the proletariat becomes, in virtue of organisational unity and militant solidarity based upon common understanding and theoretical insight, an actually operative *class* capable of enforcing as well as asserting the demands it makes in its own name. This concept is the living essence of Marxism.

So much can be seen from even a casual reading of the *Manifesto*, yet it is amazing how seldom the critics of Marxism, and even the Social-Democratic pseudo-Marxists, grasp this essence.

It is not, it will be seen, a question whether the proletariat in its struggles to attain the position of ruling

class will, or will not, have to use force. That is a question that will be decided not *by* them, but *for* them, by their class enemies.

The real question is whether the proletariat can become, by means of its struggles, so transformed that it constitutes in itself a force adequate to the end of overcoming all obstacles placed in its path by its enemies, and become also the germinal nucleus of a new and higher society pre-formed within the organism of the old, bourgeois society.

If this is grasped, all the difficulties presented by Marxist theory and communist practice drop away as irrelevancies.

The communists now, as in 1848, "fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working classes". But in the struggles of the present they take care to remember and safeguard the future of the movement. In their struggles for the future, they never forget present-day needs.

It is in this *dialectical* unity, in theory and practice, of the immediate and the ultimate, that Marxian Communism proves its worth.

In 1848, the adherents of the *Communist Manifesto* were at most a few score. In 1948 it is no exaggeration to say that it has a million adherents for every one it had at its birth.

In 1848, communism was "a spectre haunting Europe". In 1948, it is a flesh-and-blood reality, occupying the front place in the attention, the anxiety and the concern of virtually every government in the bourgeois world.

It is natural, of course, that those to whom the Marxian dialectic is a scandal and an abomination, should see in communist theory nothing but a jumble of contradictory assertions, and in communist practice a tangle of contradictory endeavours. From the standpoint of formal logic, the ultimate aim (of revolution) cannot be reconciled in principle with the immediate object, which is Reform. Either Reform *or* Revolution—that is, say the

formalists, the choice before us. And whether with the reformists one eschews all thoughts of "revolution", or whether with the doctrinaire *ultras* one eschews all "paltering with reform", one can always, as a formalist, enjoy the satisfaction of proving the "logical absurdity" of communism.

But the fact remains that communism grows steadily from year to year, and does so the more surely and the more rapidly the more it achieves the dialectical unity of the struggle for immediate betterment and ultimate emancipation.

Take as a decisive test the general programme envisaged by the *Manifesto*, and compare it with the practical necessities confronting even a non-Marxist and anti-communist Labour government.

The first step, says the *Manifesto*, is "to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling-class, to win *the battle of democracy*".

What a deal of time and patience might have been saved if only men could have agreed to the (surely self-evident) truth that in modern circumstances democracy, to be real, as distinct from a hollow sham, must constitute establishing the proletariat as a *de facto* and not merely *de jure* ruling class. It may take time before this truth is realised and acted upon; and in the interval we shall no doubt continue to be treated to the spectacle of merely formal "democrats" denouncing *real* ones for being real and actually establishing the proletariat with its allies as the ruling class to the exclusion of its class enemies. For it should be no less self-evident that in a society divided by irrepressible class antagonisms *all* government to be effective must be class government and, whatever the conventional forms may be, must in essence rule dictatorially, since in the last resort it must enforce its interests as against those of its opponents. Thus, as practical experience is every day bringing home to us, real democracy and the "class-dictatorship of the proletariat" are terms with a common content.

This becomes clearer as the *Manifesto* proceeds :

“The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling-class, *and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.*”

The more one reads this passage the more it is borne in upon one that just this programme and no other is being actually today forced upon all the Labour, quasi-socialist, or frankly pro-communist governments everywhere in Europe, as literally the only road out of the impasse created by a capitalism that has outlived its period of historical necessity.

And the more it is studied, the clearer it becomes that those governments have been, and are being, most successful in emerging from their difficulties who most resolutely carry out this programme with the clearest understanding. The communists are charged with all sorts of inconsistency and “hypocrisy”, when they ally themselves in the course of the struggle with groups and parties whose formal aims seem superficially at variance with communist theory. Yet if the *Manifesto* be studied, it will be found that its authors proposed in 1848 to contract a *different* alliance in every country in Europe, even to allying themselves with the German bourgeoisie “whenever it acts in a revolutionary way against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty-bourgeoisie”.

These formal inconsistencies all fall into their place as soon as it is envisaged that the communists are struggling primarily to facilitate the completion of a process of historical transformation, which process necessarily goes through a whole series of stages in the course of its development. That is why, today, as in 1848, the communists “labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries”, since the struggle for democracy cannot fail sooner or later to achieve the conquest of power by the proletariat and its natural allies.

Finally, the *Manifesto*—read in the light of what actually happened in 1848—gives us a touchstone whereby to test the worth of the slogans and illusions which duped so many then, and which are being revived today with transparently reactionary intent.

Metternich and Guizot stood out in 1848 as the foremost enemies of communism. Yet they would have been justly indignant if anyone had accused them of being democrats, or of believing in the principles of the Rights of Man. Yet today, the parties which carry on the tradition of Metternich and Guizot—the parties of aristocracy, of privilege, of vested interests, of “Order, Religion, the Family, and Property”—all call themselves “democrats”, and all profess enthusiasm for the Rights of Man—whenever so doing enables them to make debating points against the communists.

The truth is—as revealed in the *Communist Manifesto*—that all truth is relative, that all slogans and “principles” must be evaluated in terms of time, place, and historical circumstance.

When a man enthuses for Liberty, one has to ask Liberty *from* what, *for* what? before one can answer yes or no. If it becomes clear that what is desired is Liberty to exploit or to oppress, one gives a different answer to the answer with which we respond to the demand of Liberty *from* exploitation and oppression.

In 1848, Russia was the hope of Reaction and counter-revolution. When the Tsar’s Cossacks crossed the Carpathians, the Hungarian National struggle came to an end, and with it the whole revolution of 1848.

In 1948, the classes corresponding to those who hailed the Tsar as “the Saviour of Society”, virtually spit in disgust every time they have to mention Russia. That, rightly understood, measures the difference between 1848 and 1948.

by Christopher Hollis

THE MERITS AND DEFECTS OF MARX



It was the great virtue of Marx that he stood outside the accidents of his age. To most of his contemporaries—whether they were political philosophers, economists, or men in the street—the capitalist method of production appeared as natural, inevitable and eternal: but Marx more acutely saw it as a phase in human history emerging yesterday out of a radically different system and destined to perish tomorrow—partly because all the inventions of man are of their nature ephemeral and partly because the capitalist system was possessed of an inherent instability and had within itself the seeds of its decay. For that vision Marx is to be commended. Though he was not of course by any means unique in his possession of it, yet he was in the minority and he has been proved right. Today the capitalist system, at any rate in the sense in which our ancestors used the word, is passing away and was passing away long before any Labour Government was elected to power, and would have continued to pass away had every constituency in the land returned a Conservative at the last election. For practical politicians, as practical politicians well know, can do little more in politics than give the names to what is happening anyway and smooth the path of the inevitable by persuading people to vote for it.

Yet if Marx was right in saying that capitalism must pass away, it is only fair to note that it is passing away for almost exactly the opposite reasons to those which he prophesied. Marx did not deny the virtues of capitalism during its appropriate day. If anything, he exaggerated its virtues. "If therefore", he wrote in *Das Kapital*, "on the one hand it"—capitalist society—

“presents itself historically as a progressive and a necessary phase in the economic development of society, on the other hand it is a refined and civilised method of exploitation”. “It had rescued the vast mass of mankind from the idiocy of rural life”, he wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*. He argued that it was the inevitable law of capitalism that the workers should be kept down to a subsistence wage and that all the surplus value should be annexed by the capitalists. Therefore, as productivity increased, the gap between the incomes of the many workers and the few capitalists must inevitably increase. We would get what he called “the increasing misery” of the poor, and what is more an increasing difficulty in finding sufficient purchasing power to buy the consumable goods which industry produces. For a time the system could be kept going by loans to undeveloped countries, which drain out the unsellable products of the mother country. Eventually there must be a collapse.

We know that it has not happened at all like that. We know that the capitalist system has been in many ways an unlovely abortion. Whether it has been the friend of religion or the enemy of religion, whether it has made us more gracious, more truthful, more merciful—all these may well be debated, but the one thing that it certainly has done has been to increase the standard of living of the working classes. In the last three-quarters of a century the standard of living of the working classes under capitalism has increased incomparably more than it had increased in all previous recorded history. Obviously many blots and evils still remained. Much still remained to be done. That should not blind us to the enormous amount that was done.

The result of that increase of wealth of the poor was exactly the opposite of Marx’s forecast—that, as Mr Colin Clark has shown, by the nineteen-thirties the rich, suffering under the weight of heavy taxation, had become on balance “dis-savers”: they were every year selling out more investments than they were buying. On the other hand, savings were becoming increasingly wide-

spread throughout the poorer parts of the community, and industry was coming increasingly to be financed through their savings, indirectly invested through various finance companies. That was in itself a very healthy development, but its effect was greatly to change the capitalist system as Ricardo had defined it and Marx had criticised it seventy years before. In Marx's day, a business generally had either a single owner or very few owners. The owner lived by the side of, and managed, his factory. The modern amalgamation of units of production, combined with the dispersion of capital—the consequent and inevitable divorce between ownership and management—all these have destroyed the old capitalist society as Marx knew it, and forced upon us a new society, whose birth-pangs are now with us.

So far so good, but the great logical hiatus in Marx is this : he gives us plenty of reasons, some good and some bad, why capitalism must come to an end, but he gives us no serious reason why socialism should take its place. On the contrary, if we follow his logic rather than his pronunciamientos he gives us a very good reason why socialism cannot possibly take its place. According to Marx, history has consisted of successive phases, each phase having its especial form of exploitation and its especial class of exploiters. At the time of the passing of a phase the most vigorous of the exploited have risen up and, using doubtless the language of a general rhetoric about universal freedom, have in fact established themselves in power as a new governing class. New presbyter becomes old priest writ large. It was thus, for instance, that the capitalists established themselves at the overthrow of the feudal lords. They came into power as the leaders of a revolt against the old privileged order.

If that has been the history of the past, it is surely reasonable to expect that it will also be the history of the future—reasonable to expect that capitalism will indeed be a passing phase, that in the day of its overthrow the new socialists and communists will indeed use the

language of a classless society as rhetoric against it but in fact they will not establish a classless society at all but will establish themselves as a new governing class. That is what one would have expected to happen—above all what the disciple of Marx should have expected to happen—and what in all the forms where socialist experiments have been tried quite manifestly has happened. The interesting question is why Marx ever expected anything else to happen.

Obviously in Marx's materialist thesis it was utterly irrational to expect any change in human nature except perhaps through the most gradual working of evolution. To expect that human nature, which had been predominantly ruled by greed throughout its history—because that is what the pompous phrase of economic determinism really means—would suddenly on the coming of the communist revolution be ruled by a spirit of love or service, was a folly. The explanation is ancestral. Marx, himself an atheist, and the son of a baptised Christian, was yet the inheritor of generations of Hebrew faith. It is notorious that the habits of mind formed by the great religious faiths long survive a formal repudiation of them. Jewish imagination has been haunted for generations by the faith in the coming of the Messiah and the deliverance of Israel that is to be. It is notorious today that many Zionists, who have quite abandoned any confession of a Jewish faith, who often indeed sneer at it as a retrograde folly, are yet inspired with a vision that certainly derives itself from that faith, and only makes sense if that faith is a true faith. So Marx, though he doubtless never fully understood as much himself, yet never lost the Messianic vision. He was always haunted by the memory which he had inherited that the day of deliverance must be at hand. Being a materialist, he naturally attempted to rewrite the mystical belief in economic and materialist terms. The Children of Israel became the working classes. The Gentiles and the unbelievers became the capitalists. He himself was a John the Baptist preparing the way for the great and

terrible day of the Lord—which was the coming of the communist revolution. Then, as he put it, “pre-history ends and history begins”, whatever that may mean. So he rewrote his ancestral creed, and, like most modernists who attempt to rewrite an ancient creed, he only succeeded in making ridiculous and irrational what in its full content had been majestic, balanced and noble.

It is today clear that, whatever a communist revolution may bring, it certainly does not bring communism. That is the final refutation of full Marxianism. But that defect should not blind us to the great merits in Marx’s thinking. There were many incidental merits, incidental acute observations, with which I cannot deal here. We must stick to the broad highroad of the theory. It is obviously true in a certain sense that labour is the only creator of value, though whether it is true in any sense that gives the theory a practical importance of at all the order which Marx imagined it to have is less certain. He was obviously right in seeing society as a dynamic process, when so many of his contemporaries made the mistake of thinking of it as static. The misfortune that he fell into the foolish mistake of thinking that it was going to be static tomorrow should not prevent our tribute to his great merit in seeing that at least it was not static today.

Above all, he attempted to go beneath the discussion of men’s differences and to ask why they differed. Once we grant that reason is one, that men are in some sense equal and at the least possessed of roughly the same mental and physical machinery, it is obviously a question—why then do they so greatly differ from one another? Most of Marx’s contemporaries were content simply to accept the fact in an easy-going Gilbertian spirit that some people were Whigs and others Tories, that some were Liberals and others Conservatives, and hardly paused to ask seriously why they were so. Marx truly saw that a psychological explanation was required if we were to understand anything. His answer was the answer of economic determinism. He explained men’s

differences of opinion by their differences of economic circumstances. Obviously economic circumstances have a great influence on conduct and opinion. As obviously it is a naïve and adolescent crudity which imagines they are the sole influence. There was a certain Peter Pan-like quality in Marx—he was the economist who never grew up. “I wish”, said his wife sadly one day, “that Karl would sometimes make some capital instead of always writing about it”.

No one at all acquainted with the infinite subtleties of English snobbery can seriously imagine that English political action can be satisfactorily explained by any one single, ham-handed formula. Though we may find some modern economists who accept Marxian economics, it would not be possible to find any modern psychologist who accepted Marxian psychology. In the realm of psychological motive no one can today doubt that there is infinitely more subtlety and more truth in Adler's theory of the lust for power than in Marx's crude economic determinism. If Marxianism is to survive in any form in the modern world, it will clearly have to come to terms with science. No theory can live for ever in a complete and Tibetan obscurantism. Nevertheless to say this is merely to say that Marx is a hundred years old. He did not provide the answer, but he did raise the question, and for that we may be grateful to him. It was a great achievement. He was like Dr. Johnson's dog standing on its hind legs. “It is not that the creature does it well; it is a wonder that he does it at all”.

by Raymond Postgate

THE PRINCIPLES OF 1848



THE "principles of 1848" has for long been an old-fashioned and faintly ridiculous phrase. While the men of '48 were still alive—the old Chartists, the companions of Garibaldi, the German emigrants who kept American politics from their final corruption—respect for their personality held criticism to a minimum. "Leonine" was the commonest, almost the obligatory, adjective for these noble-faced veterans: not till they were dead did men care to remember Tennyson's suppressed comment on the lion-headed Garibaldi—that the lion has a rather stupid face. Thereafter, and for many years now, Mazzini has been a moralising prig, Kossuth an unsuccessful actor who borrowed money too often from his friends, Ledru Rollin the archetype of all incompetent parliamentarians, and William Smith O'Brien a disastrous comedian whose "revolution" was a scuffle in a cabbage-patch.

This ignoble fate, of the persons and the principles, was due to two things. Firstly, in history they came at a turning-point: the men did not observe the turning-point at all, and continued along the same old road, where before long they had no companions. The principles they were not able to rephrase to meet the new circumstances because to their lives' end they did not understand the new circumstances. Secondly, the two ablest minds which studied the subject at all, those of Marx and Engels, did not even attempt to rephrase the 1848 principles. They decided that they must be destroyed. They laid down what they believed (and two generations following them have believed) to be the philosophical principles and practical programme of the revolution;

and these involved a complete break, not only with the principles of 1848, but with the principles of all earlier revolutionaries.

This decision of theirs is an error in history and an error in philosophy ; and I believe is at the root of the discomforts and defeats of the " Left " today. Particularly, it is the origin (though not, of course, the only cause) of the misbehaviour of Soviet Russia, internationally, in the last fifteen years, and of the corruption (I mean mental and spiritual, not financial corruption) of Marxist parties everywhere.

The Communist parties claim to be the inheritors of revolutionary tradition, and their pronouncements show the effects of this degeneracy more clearly than any others. Examples are innumerable : the one that first comes to my hand happens to be a translation of some French manifestos about the late Paul Nizan published by the magazine *Horizon* in 1947. There was nothing exceptional about these documents : they were similar in tone to almost any documents in which a Communist Party is involved. The central Communist document was interesting both from a typographical and from a psycho-pathological angle. It was dotted with words in italics and in capitals and its tone was uniformly violent. In fact, it was near-hysterical ; it was a clinical, not a political, document. (Paul Nizan turned against the Communist Party because of its attitude during the Nazi-Soviet pact ; mention of that period is a certain way of provoking a similar hysteria, though its symptoms are rarely so engagingly easy to diagnose.) -

More and more Communist Party documents are like this. Sometimes the hysteria is fabricated ; it is a rage put on as a matter of policy, because it is supposed that the workers are always oppressed beyond endurance and that uncontrolled abuse is therefore a sign of " genuine working-class ideology." I remember this once being earnestly explained to me by R. Palme Dutt, the premier theorist of the British Communist Party and himself a Balliol B.A. But—

*“ the huckster who, mocking holy anger,
painfully paints his face with rage ”*

is generally a party official or propagandist who is beyond redemption. Sometimes, in younger or newer members, the hysteria is genuine : it rises from an actual agony of conscience. It is a similar distress of mind to that which Protestant propaganda (quite wrongly, for all I know) ascribes to the young Jesuit : the tormenting doubt that arises from doing evil that good may come.

Neurotics can be very strong, or violently active ; and it is these people who provide the strength of the Communist Parties. Conscienceless leaders are not enough to provide it (though they are useful when immediate advantage is all that you are considering). Other parties have had conscienceless leaders ; several still have. But how is it that young men and women of high value and great possibilities have got this way ? What makes them, being neither fools nor knaves, defend the Soviet attack on Finland, deny (almost) the existence of the Nazi-Soviet pact, and commit every kind of minor political sordidness, from pretending to believe the Albanian Foreign Office to writing petty filth about a decent dead French author ?

The ultimate answer, when you put aside all the personal answers in individual cases of pride, or of anger, or of laziness of mind, is as I said, that the cause is a philosophical error. They are persuaded, as is every humane and sane person, of the need for a social revolution and of their own duty to assist in it. They are also persuaded that the scientific method of achieving that revolution is known and has in its general lines been laid down. In that general outline there is, however, one great error ; and it is from that error that proceed not only the repeated errors of the Communist Parties, their corruption of mind and their corruption of their own members, but also the disunity that is paralysing Europe.

The “ general outline ” is, of course, the Marxist theory of the Revolution. The central flaw is the doctrine

of Dialectical Materialism, which teaches that the Socialist revolution must be the "negation" of the previously existing period ; whereas in fact the revolution is one continuous process.

That is a brief diagnosis, so brief as to be almost incomprehensible. I will try to expand it so that it makes sense.

Marx and Engels were born into a society which thought of "the Revolution" ("Progress", which sometimes took its place, was not the same idea) as a continuing or at least recurrent thing. It had a calendar of its own : it had great dates of which the earliest is now exactly 300 years old, but the greatest was 1789. It had its "Days", such as the Days of September, the Days of July, or the Days of February, which at one time every revolutionary recognised at once. Now, this stream ran steadily from 1648 through 1775 to 1789, and then by 1830 to 1848 ; and was soon to pass by way of 1871 to 1917. But Marx and Engels observed a change in its character and this change occurred in the year 1848. (I hope all these dates mean something to the reader ; I am writing in shorthand, I know.)

The two most important elements of change which they observed were that the leaders, and the rank and file, of revolt, would henceforward be working class ; and that the object of the revolution would henceforward be economic, not political liberty.

The two propositions read unexcitingly enough ; it is hard to realise what an emotional content they once had. The proposition that the Revolution had to become economic—that is to say, it must be Socialist or nothing—read to many like a sentence of banishment. The parable of the rich young man who went sorrowfully away was repeated again and again, except that it was more usually a middle-aged, middlingly-well-to-do man who found that he was no longer a radical, and dispiritedly retired from politics, leaving once great figures like Kossuth and Mazzini deserted and uncomprehending. But not only persons, whole areas of human thought and

endeavour were ruled out as no longer of interest to the Revolution. When Blanqui, the greatest practical revolutionary of the nineteenth century, had finished fighting in the revolution of 1830, he burst into the editorial room of the paper on which he had worked. Standing in the doorway, he flung down his rifle and shouted with young enthusiasm to the elderly journalists sitting there: "*Enfoncés, les romantiques!*"—"That finishes the Romantics." For him, the Revolution for which he had just risked his life was not primarily the victory of the republican workers over their oppressors; what first occurred to him was that the ornate romantic style of Chateaubriand, the idealisation of the Middle Ages, fake Gothic, and the aping of feudalism, would all now disappear in favour of a purer, classical style, which would model itself, in writing, drama and architecture, on the nobler tradition of Republican Rome. Nothing of this now was to have any meaning for the revolutionary. Strictly, indeed, the conscientious revolutionary would remove from his emotions anger and the love of justice too. For he was merely present, and assisting if he could, at a historical process. The capitalist, the soldier, the worker, even he himself were merely acting as inexorable forces dictated. Why then should anyone be angry? As for justice, what was justice? Nobody could define it; and when a French worker named Tolain tried to make the International adopt it as a slogan, Marx and Engel drove him out with gross mockery. For they considered the word only an excuse for avoiding connected Socialist thought.

That Marx and Engels themselves obviously had not freed their minds of anger and the love of justice was irrelevant. Men are imperfect; besides, they were unaware that they had not. They were convinced that their attitude was quite dispassionate; and Engels always liked to describe their policy as Scientific Socialism. Marx was pleased to hear his work compared to Darwin's; he never considered that he was in the least degree less unbiased and Olympian than that shy and silent re-

searcher. But their writings are full of the most uncontrolled and savage moral condemnation ; the fury that seizes them when writing of Napoleon the Third, the Duchess of Sutherland, or the smallest police spy, has nothing whatever to do with science and everything to do with a hatred of tyranny and injustice.

There was in this a curious contradiction, and one which none of their contemporaries was interested to analyse. Subconsciously, it may, of course, have been that a hatred of oppression was assumed by everyone in the circles in which they moved to be a natural emotion, as universal as hunger and love ; it was noticed no more than the fact that they breathed air, and required no more explanation. Consciously, it is more likely to have been due to the fact that "the scientific attitude to Socialism" was integrally connected with the second proposition—that only the workers could carry on the Revolution—and that proposition seemed proved beyond any question by contemporary facts ; and thus oddities of personal behaviour had no importance.

The reasons for this certainty were, in broad outline, three ; and as one anyway is even at this date responsible for the misery of "the Left", they need to be examined in greater detail. Let me treat them, as Marx would have wished, as a scientific thesis ; let me tabulate them and take them one by one. They cannot be wholly separated ; they interlock ; but for our purposes they must be taken one by one. They are : (1) that economic facts, the development of capitalist production, destroy the revolutionary drive of the bourgeoisie and put the proletariat, strategically, in a position that it alone can, and will, carry out the revolution ; (2) that the history of revolutionary movements since 1848 shows this change visibly in progress ; (3) that the only true philosophical basis of thought, which is compactly called Dialectical Materialism, proves that the process is inevitable and certain, and that it has a special "triangular" motion of its own.

1. *That the working-class is now the only possible revolutionary class.*

The argument for this is most easily followed in the earliest of the papers in which the two writers developed their policy in its mature form—the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847. Later elaborations never varied from it in any significant way. Certain documents, such as Engels' advice to the German Social Democratic Party, have been criticised as being less revolutionary; but even if the criticism were true, no departure from the general thesis is involved. There is nothing contradictory in suggesting that at a given time the revolutionary class might find it pay to play a waiting game or an evasive game. The argument of the *Manifesto* was expanded, or, rather, the supporting evidence assembled in later publications, of which of course far the most important is *Capital*. In this unfinished work Marx appeared to prove that the exploitation of the workers by capital at the point of production could be mathematically analysed by the use of the Labour Theory of Value, and that this analysis proved that a recurrent series of crises of increasing violence was wholly inevitable. This process meant that ever-increasing numbers of the workers would become unemployed, at intervals, and that any prospect of a gradual increase in working-class prosperity was nonsensical. Within the capitalist world, moreover, the larger units of capital would automatically, by a similar mathematically predictable process, wipe out the smaller ones. Thus, those workers who were employed would be employed in ever-larger units, learning the lessons of co-operation, and aggregated into platoons and regiments and battalions which would easily become the units of the revolutionary army. Meanwhile, the small employers and the craftsmen who had previously been the rank and file of the earlier revolutions and the Liberal and Radical parties would be crushed out. No longer interested in liberty, equality and fraternity, they would make a brief struggle to retain their economic lives by oppressing the workers even more than their

huge rivals, and thereafter would fall with a crash into the ranks of the proletariat themselves. Thus, as a result of a series of convulsions, the time would arrive in which society was to be sharply divided into a great mass of workers, united in a common misery and organised in large groups, and a very small group of oppressors facing them. Marx remembered with pleasure how "Nero grinned" when he found that half the Roman province of Africa was owned by six men only. The same imperial grin would be found on the faces of the workers; their task of expropriation would be equally easy. It was the inner contradictions of the capitalist system itself—contradictions which Marx went so far as to express in algebra—that were responsible; the capitalists themselves were producing their own grave-diggers.

This remarkable prophecy has been in part fulfilled. That part which deals with the repetition of crises can hardly be denied. It was disproved, to their own satisfaction, by economist after economist before and after World War I; and for some time it did look as if the violent and sudden crises at roughly ten-year intervals were smoothing out into booms and slumps and would in due course become no more than a gentle undulation. The smaller crisis of 1921 and the shattering one of 1931 discomposed the prophets of good. There were very few people who thought about the matter at all in 1939 who were prepared to deny that the capitalist system contained internal contradictions of a most disastrous kind. Indeed, they might well say that these had been under-estimated—that instead of recurrent attacks of gigantic unemployment and economic paralysis, society had ossified so that that condition was a permanent disease.

Nor was it less true that huge units had continued to press out smaller firms. Larger factories, with greater labour forces (with some set-backs of course), began to dominate every industry and even the retail trades; and this concentration of capital was a great deal more

extensive than the public or even students knew, owing to various devices of interlocking directorates, holding companies, cartel agreements, and so forth. Many a producer or distributor who believed himself independent was in fact held so tightly by price agreements and arrangements to apportion supplies that he might as well have been a direct employee of the cartel. This had had, too, though not quite so markedly as expected, the effect of massing the employees into large units suitable for organisation.

Any description of the economic scenery which was not mere wishful thinking (the anti-Socialist literature of 1900-1918 contains some very curious examples of this) confirmed the Marxist diagnosis. Not only were the manufacturing units larger, but the consequent organisations of the workers were spreading into areas once thought unorganisable. It was a matter for no surprise that miners' unions and railwaymen's unions should grow steadily in membership in every industrialised country where they were not suppressed by violence. But from the late 70's onwards there was even some organisation of farm labourers in England, the most isolated, depressed and helpless of workers. Almost as surprising were embryonic organisations of clerks which appeared in various areas in the world. Even waiters and other catering workers formed a quite powerful body in Australia. In 1923 a reporter, perhaps over-credulous, described the activities of a Harlots' Union in the Ruhr which was taking its share in inconveniencing the French invaders.

But the clear outlines in Marx's picture became blurred by the thumb of time elsewhere. It was impossible not to observe that these swelling proletarian organisations were not becoming increasingly revolutionary, but rather the reverse; and their members were not becoming increasingly miserable, but rather the reverse. The only proletarian revolution which occurred, did not occur, as it should have done, in the most advanced capitalist country, but in the least advanced,

Russia ; it missed its appointment by two thousand miles. Moreover, and connected with this, a major mistake in economics appeared to have been made. The middle-classes were not ground out, and did not disappear into the mass of the wage-earners. As early as 1899 Eduard Bernstein, a once famous German Socialist economist, established that, judged merely by test of incomes, the middle-classes were actually increasing : the " Revisionism " that he thus sponsored shook the whole Socialist movement.

It had been, as I shall explain later, a philosophical dogma with Marx that there could be only two forces in society. The mere existence of the middle-classes was in consequence an inconvenience and this was overcome (dialectically but not in reality) by referring to them as the " petty bourgeoisie ". This suggested that they were in fact merely a subdivision of the bourgeoisie as a whole, not deserving separate notice. It also incidentally suggested a further error—that what we call the middle-classes were pretty much all of one kind ; small-sized specimens of capitalists.

The middle-classes, as any observer can see today, consisted and consist of more than one different class. Each of these has its particular character and its particular revolutionary potentiality (or lack of it). In 1867, when *Capital* was written, it was perhaps excusable to look on the middle-class as one mass—though indeed it should not have been, for twenty years earlier a practical revolutionary, Feargus O'Connor the Chartist, had, in a dim way, seen the chief division when he divided his opponents into the " middle " and the " middling " classes—the first being the employers and traders, the " shopocracy " whom he was fighting, and the second the brain-workers whose aid he hoped for.

Today, that division is not sufficient. We have still the " petty bourgeoisie " proper with us—the small shopkeeper, the little employer, who with ever-renewed faith opens his shop or his works and with pathetic frequency sees it closed when the Combine stirs itself

sufficiently to crush it. Here, and here almost alone, can we watch the petty bourgeoisie meeting the fate laid down for it and falling ruined into the proletariat. But there are also, as there always have been, the professional classes : doctors, teachers, dentists, lawyers, and so forth, are very far from being driven into the proletariat. There is also a class which before 1939 had quite remarkable voting power—the small *rentier*. The great aggregations of capital which killed the independent small producer did not find themselves bound to exterminate all people of that income level, as had been expected. On the contrary, the institution of the joint stock company had made the existence of that section of the community a great convenience to them. The big bourgeois raised the funds he needed from it ; he retained control at the price of paying out dividends (and sometimes he even omitted to do that). In that way this section of the middle-classes itself provided the means of its dethronement. As a result, you could before the war observe in Britain, France and the States a very considerable number of people, including many women, who were idle but not rich. They were far from being a clear-cut class or caste ; many of them worked as well as drew dividends, and only in the confessional or the bank parlour could you discover of any given one of them whether his soul was more that of a shareholder than a salary earner.

Still more important was a further section, alien in almost every way from the coupon clippers. The technical men, the managers, the researchers, the administrators who actually ran industry, whether it was privately or publicly owned, have begun recently to assert their importance and even to proffer theories of their own ; the most entertaining of these is James Burnham's *The Managerial Revolution*.

If we keep these categories in mind, we can go on to test the next general principle, which is :

2. *That the history of revolutionary movements shows that the sole active centre is now the working class.*

No proposition seemed more amply proved up to, say, 1933. The earliest revolutionary movements that concern us were directed, and manned, by what might without inaccuracy be called bourgeois. The farmers and the trained bands who fought for Parliament and broke King Charles were men of property—not of great property and gross wealth, but not penniless labourers. So, too, were the members and supporters of the Revolutionary Congress of the American Colonies. So were all the Girondins and most (though not all) of the Jacobins. Right up to the strange year 1848 it was always the men of property who tore down the fence of tyranny and demanded universal legal equality, freedom of speech and of person, and the abolition of the privileges of birth. In February of that year, Paris—by now traditionally the centre—resumed the Revolution in the traditional form by chasing out the King, Louis Philippe. On the news of this success, the revolutionary spirit flickered over Europe like a flame, spotting capital after capital with light. Berlin, Frankfurt, Cassel, Munich, Vienna, Budapest, Milan, Venice, Rome—in all these cities and many others, capitals of States in that year, the Royal or Papal authority was forced to abandon its power and hand it over to democratic parliaments. Sometimes, as in Prussia, the monarch was forced to apologise for his past misconduct and to cry publicly into a handkerchief to show his contrition.

And within quite a few months the revolution was completely defeated everywhere. The reason was clear ; Marx and Engels submitted the political history of the two years 1848 and 1849 to a detailed analysis which is a small masterpiece. In each case, the men of property who had provided the driving force of all previous revolutions and were leading this one, were paralysed in their will by the appearance behind them, as it were, of a new force, the men of no property, who demanded social and economic equality. Rather than consent to



Vivandière—Sketched in Paris

this, the French, German, Italian and Austrian revolutionaries came to an accommodation with the powers they had so rudely turned out ; and put down the Reds, as they were now called. In Paris, as ever the centre, the Republican general Cavaignac in June manœuvred the working-class into a pitched battle in which it was bloodily defeated ; and the news of that again set off the European capitals in a reverse process. Outside France, the victory was less sanguinary, but it was equally decisive ; the Revolution of '48 was over.

What was foreshadowed then became solid and tangible in the twenty following years. The men of property came to a tacit agreement with royalty and aristocracy. They were to be given a Parliament—a Chamber of Deputies or a Reichstag—with limited powers ; they were to be given considerable personal freedom and somewhat less political freedom ; all restraints on trade and manufacture were to be ended and vigorous help to be given to all traders and manufacturers. In return, the monarchy was to be accepted and confirmed in power ; the good families were to retain their preponderant influence in politics, loyalty was to be encouraged and both sides would unite in putting down the Reds. Under such a régime Victorian Europe lived, and for the most part prospered. At its extreme ends, in Spain and Russia, the men of property were too feeble to enforce the compromise and the scenery remained rather as it had been before 1848.

No other interpretation of history made any sense at all. When a revolutionary movement did occur, such as the Paris Commune of 1871, only the working class was found to support it. All reform movements, too, whether for free milk in schools or for a large remodelling of society, henceforward found most of their support in working-class circles, and less and less elsewhere. Individuals might behave eccentrically, but practical politicians knew the facts. The questions they asked were simple : “What voters would support better education for all, social services in the cities, minimum-

wage laws, extensions of the franchise, liberty for the Colonies?" "What voters would demand reduction of the rates, stopping of 'demoralising pampering', putting of 'niggers' in their places, and so forth?" You could walk round Ebbw Vale and Surbiton, St Denis and St Germain, and write your own answer.

Therefore, the Revolution was obviously now in the trust of the workers. Violent or peaceful, it would continue through them or not continue at all. If their nerve failed, it would be defeated; if their leaders betrayed, there would be no others to turn to.

Nevertheless, round about 1933 it became clear that the conflict was not a simple two-sided one, with the workers on one side and the men of property and the aristocrats in alliance on the other. The middle classes, with their regrettable lack of unity, complicated the position. The small handful of big capitalists—the equivalent of Nero's African landlords—found forces there might be their allies. Nothing at all in Marxist thought foreshadowed Fascism.

Attempts were made to force Fascism into the Marxist system. For example, among the Nazi masses was an element of down-and-outs, the *Lumpen-proletariat*, the brutalised lowest tenth of society; and propagandists made the most of them. Could it not be proved that Fascists were merely capitalists who had hired some completely degenerate defenders of working-class origin? Not so: for their effective fighting force was made up of people who were not below, but thought themselves a bit above, the workers. They were what Trotsky in his most brilliant phrase called "human dust". For a middle-class, or would-be middle-class, man faced with ruin is more helpless and without friends than anyone else. He is a grain of sand, without cohesion or strength. A worker has his union, his "co-op", his tradition of mutual help and solidarity, and at the worst a more philosophical attitude to hunger and unemployment. All these the middle-class man lacks; when his children can no longer go to the better-class school, when he

can no longer make payments on his house, when he has sold all that he can sell, when he has borrowed the last loan from the man he used to know, then his despair is final. The Fascist army was recruited from the architects and lawyers and small business men who would never get jobs again, and who knew that their children would never get jobs at all. Because the Socialists and Communists, following strictly their dogma, made no provision for these people the German capitalists were able to buy them. Whether they bought a master or a servant when they financed Hitler is a matter there is no room to discuss here. But the existence of these people has an important bearing on the third proposition :

3. *That Dialectical Materialism shows that the victory of the workers is inevitable and is the Negation of the bourgeois revolution.*

A proposition like this has a certain practical use. It gives a kind of Calvinist strength to a rising movement whose members must sometimes quaver at the thought of the power of the forces they have challenged. There is little doubt that certainty of victory nerved Lenin and his colleagues to go straight ahead in 1917 and 1918. But the fact that a belief is useful does not prove it is true; moreover, as in the case of Hyndman and his colleagues in the old British Socialist Party, the same belief may lead only to paralysis. For if victory is certain anyway, why disturb yourself to do more than preach the abstract truth ?

And it has long been clear that in its original form Dialectical Materialism is not true. It is modified, sometimes, by modern expositors until it becomes no more than a vague expression of belief in a form of evolution, a statement that nothing comes from nothing, that everything that happens has its source in a previous event which may be of a very different nature. So watered down it is hardly worth drinking, but originally it was a powerful spirit, a political vodka. Marx and Engels, educated as Hegelians, by a natural weakness

convinced themselves that the philosophy that they had so laboriously learnt was not really valueless. Transposed from the realm of the ideal to that of materialism, Hegel's Dialectic would provide the clue to the process of history, and, since it was a universal proposition, it enabled them to predict the result of what was going on around them.

All historical processes (and, it seems from their writing, all natural processes too) went on, they held, in patterns of three. There was first a Thesis, or Affirmation; this gave rise to an Antithesis, or Negation. From the conflict of these two arose finally a Synthesis, or Negation of the Negation, which partook of the nature of both of its predecessors. This odd and dry formula had continually repeated itself in history, as for example in the substitution of capitalism for feudalism. It was now in process of working itself out again. The bourgeois revolution, establishing capitalist property-relations, was the Affirmation; the Negation of this was the proletarian revolt; the resultant Synthesis would be Socialism. The conclusion was foregone: the process was inevitable and fore-ordained.

As I have said, fewer people probably maintain this prophecy as being a certainty. Some do however treat it as being generally a valid statement of past or current fact. And from this belief arises the fundamental error of which I spoke at the beginning.

Taking the three categories we have used here, we may say that Propositions 1 and 2 are mainly true; Proposition 3 not true at all. That is to say, the main opponents in the present class-struggles are the workers and the capitalists; and the chief strength (but not all) of that Revolution will be working-class. But not only can one *not* predict the pattern of the revolution; socialist revolution is also *not* the negation of, or opposed to, the preceding Liberal or bourgeois revolution. Not to see this, is the most considerable mistake that a Socialist can make. If the bourgeois revolution is to be followed by a proletarian revolution, and the proletarian revolution is to be its Negation, then the achievements of the

first are either worthless or actually to be attacked by the supporters of the new revolution. Marx and Engels drew, theoretically, that deduction ; but being trained, as Lenin was too, in the revolutionary tradition, they did not operate it. They treated to the cruellest sarcasm Monsieur Tolain, of the First International, who innocently demanded that its programme (likè that of the Jacobins) be based on "Justice and Virtue." But in fact they demanded of themselves and of all those whom they worked with, a strict morality and selfless republican devotion that derived immediately from the French Revolution, and ultimately from what the French and Americans believed to have been the standards of Republican Rome. When they abuse Lassalle it is for restless vanity and subservience to titles, unworthy of a Socialist ; when they make their chief attack on Bakunin it is on the grounds that he has been dishonest with his colleagues and faked essential votes.

If the Revolution is to be regarded, as I consider it historically must be, as *one continuous stream*, then such abuse is sensible and logical. The speeches of the men of 1848 are not to be jettisoned. The Rights of Man, as declared by the Estates General in 1789, are an integral part of the Socialist programme. So, too, are the Declaration of Independence, and the Petition of Right. It remains the belief of all Socialists "that all men are created equal" and that they have as "inalienable Rights . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness". They also believe that "all who promote, solicit, execute or cause to be executed arbitrary orders ought to be punished", and that "every citizen may speak, write and publish freely"—and a number of other principles enshrined in texts which their forefathers knew by heart in 1848 but which they have tended to forget.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man has seventeen articles. Everyone of them would do as a text on which to hang a Socialist sermon. Take, for example, No. 6, a very flat statement at first sight :

“VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community: all citizens have a right to concur either personally or by their representatives in its formation . . .” Observe that it says “all citizens” (not all Party Members) and does not add conditions, as, for example, “in peace time”. It condemns implicitly, that is, the arrangements by which local elections (for bye-laws are “laws”) were prevented in Britain and elsewhere during the war. Citizens, all of them, or at least as many as can be found, have the right to “concur” in decisions; an election, even a local election, is therefore, not a nuisance but an essential. Similarly, it condemns the long period which elapsed in Russia since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship without a free election. The abrogation of the forms of formal democracy in order to push through the Soviet revolution was explicitly advocated as a temporary step. Under capitalist conditions, it was argued, democracy had ceased to have any reality: the establishment of a Socialist economy was necessary to enable it to function. Yet down to this date it has not returned to function, despite the programme described in Lenin’s *State and Revolution*. Trotsky, in the beginning of his conflict with Stalin, outlined in his *New Current* a proposal for the restoration of democracy within the Communist Party. But the Declaration does not say “all Party members”, or “all revolutionaries”: it says “all citizens”. And in any case Trotsky was defeated. The “Stalin Constitution” restored on paper the chief democratic rights. But it was immediately followed by the purges and executions of opponents which resulted from the killing of Kirov; and has never been applied. Indeed, it cannot be effective so long as only one party is allowed to exist. The French Revolutionaries, by contrast, continually referred back to their constituents—the National Assembly indeed was so anxious not to invade their rights that it actually barred its members from re-election. Even Cromwell ceaselessly sought a Parliament with which he could work; his principles were

right even if they were continually thwarted by the violence of his temperament. Only the theory that previous revolutionary policy was not merely outmoded but actually wrong, would have permitted thirty years to pass in Russia without the handing back of effective power to the citizens. The canons, the authorities, were against it ; not till they were overturned could it be done.

“The authorities”, I see I have written. It is a misleading phrase, for there is no appeal to authority. The essence of the Revolution is that it does not appeal to authority ever—that is, to any other authority than human reason. “No Master, high or low” William Morris considered to be the only ultimately tolerable motto, and that applies to intellectual and spiritual as well as economic matters. These texts which I mentioned are only “authorities” in the sense that they conveniently and briefly outline what we know already and have satisfied ourselves is true ; their chief reason for existence is that they save time. A man cannot always spare the time to argue out from first causes the rights and wrongs of each question as it comes along, any more than he can always enquire whether the dictionary is right in the meaning it gives to any particular word. Quite clearly, too, some of them have been found as time went on to be inconsistent with themselves : the main discovery of the Socialist movement is that an unlimited right to property is inconsistent with the preservation of liberty and equality.

In France, where “the Revolution” is a technical historical term which does not have the violent overtones it does here, I would be perfectly understood when I say “The Revolution is continuous ; it marches on, and as it marches on it clarifies itself. It learns what it is and what it must do.” And again : “It has in itself its own morality ; by cutting themselves off from it the Communists have deprived themselves of the morality *in which they themselves believe*. They are self-excommunicated : which makes them mentally

miserable or dangerous, finding no relief except in incessant action, and wild abuse of those whose existence reminds them of their loss."

As a system of morality, it gives a negative as well as a positive guide ; and the things it rejects are generally precisely those which disquiet us most in the recent (and for that matter in the older) history of revolt. The prohibition of unusual punishments, or punishments without fair trial, is one of the oldest and best established of our principles. The actions of Fouquier Tinville in the French Revolution, the archives of the Lubianka Prison, or the tormenting of such revolutionaries as Victor Serge—it becomes clear at once that we have to view with great suspicion specious arguments in favour of such things. Only a quite unpractical man would deny that extreme danger to the community would excuse suspension of liberties, violence and even cruelty. A State, like an honest man, may sometimes be forced by circumstances to yield to a sort of blackmail ; it may be forced to do things which it strongly dislikes. But if he is courageous and sensible the man breaks away the very first moment that he can. So should the State do. What is disturbing about such events is not that they occurred in times of great danger, but that they continued ; and that neither in France or Russia was there the machinery or the popular demand that made it impossible for them to last one day longer than they were absolutely imperative. There is no work more essentially part of the revolutionary spirit than the construction of legal safeguards that make such extraordinary powers of strictly limited life, and highly difficult to revive.

For the same reason we must condemn the enforced "confessions" that have been such a disagreeable feature of Russian internal politics and have even been transplanted to the British Communist Party in one well-known case. Indeed, there can be few clearer examples of the differences between the two principles. The adherent of Dialectical Materialism considers that

some immediate advantage to the cause of his Party or of Russia may result from the confession. It must therefore, he says, be made ; and if there is reluctance to make it, it must be forced. The revolutionary answer is that the confession is probably false, and certainly an offence to human dignity. But this is an argument ruled out by the "Dialectic", replies the other. The Rights of Man are superseded at the best, for they are part of the bourgeois revolution, and the present revolution is bound to be its Negation. Thus, talk of human dignity is reactionary nonsense.

Another practice that is condemned by this standard is one that tore deeper wounds in the last twenty years than any others. Outside observers wondered sometimes why such bitter opposition was felt in the established Socialist parties of the West towards the Communist Parties. On occasion it seems to them to be pathological, to pass all common sense. Certainly, they say, the Communists may need to have what they did and said between 1939 and 1941 forgotten and forgiven. But has no one else made a mistake ? Was the Social Democratic and Labour Party record over a long period so impeccable ? Decades of feebleness may be as bad as one monster mistake. To some extent the anger is pathological ; or was so during and before the war. The Socialists themselves felt that their indignation was sentimental, or anyway could only be expressed in moral terms. They felt shaky about their grounds, and as men do who feel shaky about their anger, they expressed it the more hysterically. If they were aware of the revolutionary justification for their objections they might be surer and also more balanced in them.¹ For the real cause dates from one event—the adoption of the policy of "bolshevisation" by the Third International and its parties under Zinoviev's direction in 1923. One of the

¹ Perhaps it would soothe them to read Marx's own opinion of recent Communist tactics. It is to be found in a booklet called *L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste* dealing with Bakunin—very rare, and not reprinted by Communist parties.

most important instructions included in the policy was that on nucleus work. It became the duty of Communists to form "nuclei" in all other Labour organisations, whose members would co-ordinate their activities with the intention of gaining control. They would concert the terms of resolutions privately beforehand, pick out approved candidates for committees, and divert inopportune proposals; all without openly taking control or changing the title of the organisation. One further, quite logical step, was to set up organisations, with attractive non-party titles, which would be under their control from the beginning. All this led, of course, to a good deal of dissimulation and trickery, and on occasion to downright hard lying. I have some curious relics of those days in my records. But it was all for the Revolution, wasn't it? So the revolutionaries comforted themselves; Trotsky, who saw further into the question than most of his colleagues, offered the consoling formula: "One may lie to and trick the enemies of the workers; one must never lie to or trick the workers themselves." But even this did not really work; the "corrupt leaders" were perhaps the "enemies of the workers", but the persons who in actual fact were being tricked or lied to were quite ordinary members of working-class organisations. From those days has survived the suspicion that any Left organisation may be fraudulent, and that any apparently (say) anti-Fascist resolution may conceal a trick. The fear of Petticoat Lane methods has led people to take the precautions usually observed in that street, of which the easiest is to refuse to trade at all.

The contrast between revolutionary morality and Dialectical Materialism can most easily be seen, I suppose, in questions of foreign policy. If there was room here, I could work out the comparison between Lenin's foreign policy and Stalin's. Lenin, in Persia and China and in countries which had belonged to Tsarist Russia, followed the principle—so simple as to seem almost naïve—that all that the Soviet Foreign Office needed to do was to ascertain and serve the needs and

wishes of the workers in these countries. Its deeds, and an explanation of them in plain language, would be all the diplomatic propaganda that was needed. This policy brought some dividends (including the Council of Action, which in 1920 prevented a British war on Russia). Stalin's is marked by the three hinge-points of the Stalin-Laval pact, the Nazi-Soviet pact, and the Anglo-Russian treaty. These are commonly said to be irreconcilable, and to require fantastic contortions and self-contradictions among those who support them. Nothing of the sort : they are entirely consequential and even predictable, once it is realised that the ruling principle is that the interests of the Russian State are supreme and traditional revolutionary morality does not exist.

These are negative instances : they are examples of what we condemn. But what do we approve? It is impossible to answer that question in detail : I would need five hundred pages and two hundred thousand words, and at that would probably do it inadequately. For the answer must be both an interpretation of recorded human life—past and present—and a rule of conduct for the individual. I would need to re-interpret not only the great historical documents I have quoted already, but also such things as the philosophy expounded in T. H. Huxley's letters and essays. There is only one general descriptive statement I can make.

Socialist morality—the ethics of habit and living which I have been advocating—agrees with Marxism on one profoundly important point. That is, that Socialism is, or should be, a different form of society from Capitalism, and that therefore Socialists, who today are the only serious revolutionaries, must be people who are in their minds, morals and habits already members of a new society. This, in its most usual misinterpretation, is generally held to mean that they should behave as if the Utopia they hope for had already arrived ; and has thereby encouraged the luxuriant growth of oddities which has adorned the sides of the Socialist movement

since its beginning—especially in Britain and America. “Advanced” literature dealing with sex, vegetarianism, vivisection, nudism or education has sometimes contained material whose only excuse for existence was that it discouraged us from the sin of spiritual pride, by reminding us that it was possible for a self-styled Socialist to be as great a fool as anyone outside the movement. The bearded and voluble gentleman in sandals from a garden city, with his female free-companion in homespun clothes, will so educate his unfortunate child, in a school based on theoretically admirable principles, that the child is unfitted to face the outside capitalist world at all, and can see no difference in kind between a Belsen camp leader and a man who is not interested in the wrongs of performing animals; but he is a mockery of us, a Court Fool to keep us sane. The society of which we are members is not one that is here, but one that is coming, and which we are helping to come. It is a perfectly legitimate metaphor to say that the new Society is in the womb of the old. We act, not as if it were here, but in such a way as to bring it to birth.

By saying that Socialists are “in their minds, morals and habits already members of a new society” I meant, therefore, that they acted and thought in such a way that they would do nothing to aid and everything to defeat the opponents of the birth of that new society. And here even the bearded gentleman has his momentary justification. In one sense, and only in one sense, that society does exist, or at least has existed in the memory of living man. It existed in a community of feeling and loyalty, passing by frontiers—it had no economic existence, but it had an intellectual and emotional existence. Before the war of 1914 tore it into pieces which have never wholly re-united, the international Socialist movement was a real thing. It might possibly have had, and some people thought it would have, a stronger pull on its members’ loyalty than Nationalism even in the event of war. One of these who did was the ablest of all pre-war interpreters of international affairs—

H. N. Brailsford, in *The War of Steel and Gold* (1912). Its leaders met regularly together, not to advance their own countries' needs, but to compare programmes and harmonise them, in the interests of the workers of all the world. They submitted to international decision problems which were both domestic and of considerable financial importance to individuals—such as whether a Socialist party should allow members to join in Coalition cabinets. The French party referred precisely this question to it and abided by the decision, to the monetary loss of some eminent members. The bounds of the movement were wider than the orthodox Socialist parties: Trade Unionists and even Anarchists were generally considered, and often considered themselves, as equally part of it, and rebuked backslidings with the embittered frankness common in family quarrels. A marked division separated Socialist writers, too, from non-Socialist: Shaw and Hauptmann were Socialist dramatists, H. G. Wells was a Socialist novelist, and others were not—that is, they were ignorant of the more important facts about human society and were not worth studying though they might amuse. Personal behaviour, as well, was different; ignoring the bearded gentleman we can still claim there was a different standard of morals in Socialist circles and in suburban Conservative respectability.

Some of us can remember this slowly-forming world—those who were Socialists before 1914 or who remember the frantic efforts of 1917 (at the time of the abortive Stockholm conference) to save it. (Or, more exactly, its own efforts to save itself and the world in that crucial year.) They will also have felt how disastrous its absence has been since then. Any example will do: the one which comes to my mind first is the “Trotsky” trials, and the purges which horrified the Western world before the war and started the rapid degeneration of Russian and Communist morality. What would we have not have given then for an international authority, however shadowy and pure “moral”, to which both sides could

have, without loss of principle, referred questions of fact? If there had been a bureau like the International Socialist Bureau to which Keir Hardie, Vaillant, Bebel and Plekhanoff all belonged, would the conflict ever have become as vicious as it did?

But this is nostalgia. Nothing returns in time: history never repeats itself; the International is dead. It is for us to bring into objective life what is already alive in our hearts and in those of very many people all over Europe. Whether it will be at first expressed in a purely political organisation, I do not know. I am inclined to think not: it may not indeed for some time be expressed in organisation at all.

by John Hewetson

DORMANT SEEDS OF 1848



“As for the greater number of revolutionists, they unhappily know only of the theatrical side of former revolutions as related with forced effect by historians, and they scarcely suspected the immense work accomplished in France during the years 1789–93 by millions of obscure persons—work which caused France to be in 1793 quite a different nation from what she was four years previously.”

PETER KROPOTKIN,
Revolutionary Studies

Revolutions in the past have resulted from the accumulation of tendencies in social evolution. It has not been difficult for historians to disentangle the various factors and analyse them—to show where they reinforce one another, and where their clashes brought suddenly into the open long dormant antagonisms. At such moments the old structures of society fall away and the new society thus born seems to take steps forward more rapidly in a few years—or even months—than the whole preceding century had achieved.

Revolutions are thus occasions of progress, and its opportunity. It is therefore natural that the revolutions of the past should be anatomised more and more closely today when dissatisfaction with existing social forms is almost universal. It is for their *lessons* that we chiefly study such movements of the past, and 1848 provides a focus for many trends which have by no means exhausted their interest or relevance for the present age.

We live in a pre-eminently political epoch. For years now we have grown accustomed to the spectacle of masses of humanity groaning under conditions of misery,

and often enough of horror, resulting from no action of their own, but from some political decision taken by people they have never seen, in Capitals they have never visited. They are completely divorced from responsibility for their own lives. The Treaty of Versailles produced a mass of miserable and dissatisfied minority populations ; the " settlements " of today are repeating the process on an even grander scale. While between the two trudge the columns of refugees, of displaced persons, fleeing from France, from Spain ; from Chiang Kai-shek, from Japanese or German or Russian invaders ; from hostile Sikh or Moslem majorities ; always from some manœuvres which may have reality in the dim world of politics but which are hideously alien from the warm world of human contact and human kinship.

These helpless and hopeless columns of dehumanised humanity are almost the distinguishing feature of recent history. The callousness, the inhuman indifference which sets these weary symptoms afoot is scarcely unexpected however. They spring from *political* actions, from the domain of leaders, of men in morning suits or other uniform signing documents in the dreary splendour of state apartments. The pre-eminent engines of such contemporary misery are the determined and disciplined groups who constitute the political parties, more especially the totalitarian, monolithic political parties which have been increasingly dominant since 1918.

The manifest misery of the refugees is only the open symptom of our age and our politics-ridden lives. Where human relations should be warm and touched with sympathy, they are in fact sterilised by the distrust and stiffness which is implied in the word " bureaucracy ". Its increasing pervasion of human life and its effects on human character are responsible for the almost universal dissatisfaction with existing social forms ; but the massive misery which forms the background to the weary journeyings, and the frustration and defeat of human hopes and aspirations has at the same time removed the optimism which used to inform the conception of Progress.

Hence social change is not now greeted as an opportunity for a new life, but rather feared as the probable precursor of yet more misery. Horrible as these are, men today prefer the ills they know to flying to others that they know not of. Disillusionment, and disillusionment that extends to the revolutionary periods of our own day, has made cowards of us all.

A hundred years ago men of vision awaited the Revolution expectantly, with determination and hopes high. It is quite otherwise today.

Yet the revolutions of the future must still provide the opportunities for renewed life. They will offer the disintegration of social forms ; and hopes can be reposed still less in conservatism, in maintaining the existing social structures than was ever the case in the nineteenth or even the early twentieth centuries. More than ever therefore are we thrown back on the study of the revolutions of the past, in the search for solutions to problems of the present and future. Nevertheless, the accent has shifted : instead of deriving hope and consolation from revolutionary successes, we have to consider chiefly the failures and omissions which opened the door to defeat.

The history of 1848 is appropriate for us to study, since it was chiefly a political revolution. Yet, although the influence of mass movements was less evident than in the Great Revolution or the Commune of 1871, it was nevertheless present, and the most important factor. No attempt will be made here, however, to study political issues in detail ; instead certain broader issues—one might almost call them philosophical questions—will be emphasised.

In its general outlines, 1848 followed the historical lines of all revolutions. As early as 1842, Heine had reported the conscious misery of the workers : “ Everything is as quiet as a winter’s night after a new fall of snow. But in the silence you hear continually dripping, dripping, the profits of the capitalist, as they steadily increase. You can actually hear them piling up—the

riches of the rich. Sometimes there is the smothered cry of poverty, and often, too, a scraping sound, like a knife being sharpened." And, as always, it was the sudden action of the anonymous mass which toppled over the bourgeois monarchy of Louis-Philippe. In January 1848, a spokesman of the Government had declared in the Chamber that "the Ministry will not yield one step", and it only needed the trivial occasion of the forbidding of the reform banquet arranged in Paris for February 22nd to start the demonstrations which led to the barricades going up in the Paris working-class districts.

The fallen ministry and Monarchy were succeeded by the Republic and a government composed of Republican leaders like Ledru-Rollin, and Socialists like Louis Blanc. Such political figures were provided with their opportunity by the mass uprising; but they were not the cause of it. Kropotkin has described the process which leads up to revolutionary situations. Revolutionists of vision, who have a clear view of what human life could be like, are always in a minority. But events gather to their ranks many more who are merely dissatisfied with the existing régime. "This affluence to the ranks of the revolutionaries of a mass of malcontents of all shades creates the force of revolutions and renders them inevitable. A simple conspiracy in the palace, or of Parliament, more or less supported by what is called public opinion, suffices to change the men in power, and sometimes the form of government. But a Revolution, to effect any change whatever in the economic order, requires the agreement of an immense number of wills. Without the agreement, more or less active, of millions, no revolution is possible. It is necessary that everywhere, in each hamlet even, there should be men to act in the destruction of the past; also that other millions remain inactive in the hope of seeing something arise to improve their future conditions. And it is just this vague, undecided discontent—very often unconscious—surging in the minds of men at the eve of great events, and that

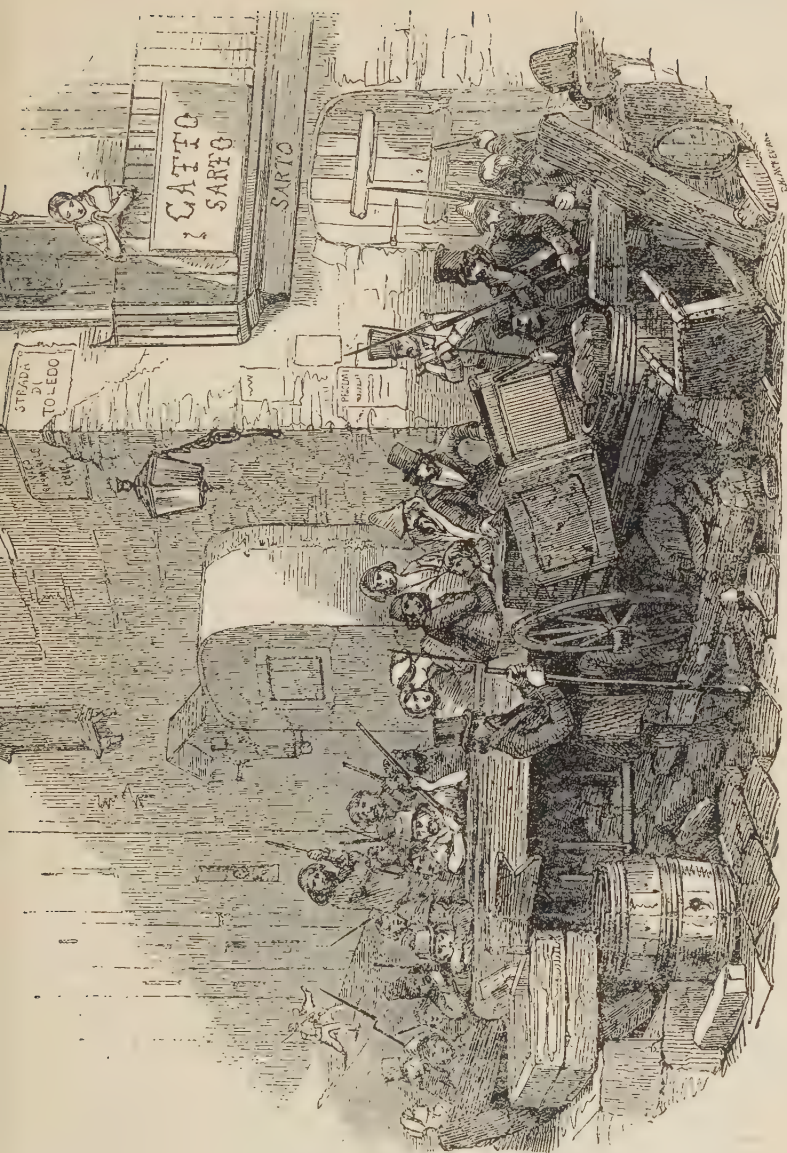
loss of confidence in the existing order, which permits true revolutionists to accomplish their immense task—the Titanic task of reconstructing in a few years institutions venerated for centuries.” (Kropotkin: *Revolutionary Studies*.)

The revolutionists of 1848, however, were not equal to the task, for in general they had neither the vision to provide the ideas necessary for a new society, nor the courage to break with and destroy the past. One of them, at least, recognised this from the outset, for on the day after the events of February 24th, Proudhon wrote that the revolution had no plan: “It must be given direction, and already I see it perishing in a flood of speeches.” As D. W. Brogan says, “to have written this diagnosis of the Revolution of February 24th, on February 25th, was an astonishing feat of penetration for it was Proudhon who was right—and the naïve enthusiasts who were wrong”.¹

Proudhon was an intensely practical thinker, despite his many paradoxes, and it is worth following some of his ideas further. In this country he suffers under the rival reputation of Marx, whose answer, entitled *The Poverty of Philosophy*, to Proudhon’s *The Philosophy of Poverty* is uncritically accepted by thousands of socialists who have read neither the original nor the reply. In France, Proudhon’s influence powerfully affected the uprising of 1871 and the development of the French Labour Movement. His outlook and his attitude affect the social activity of the French workers even today.

Proudhon was elected to the Assembly by a substantial majority at a by-election in Paris in June, but by that time the initiative had already passed from the hands of the workers into those of timid political leaders. Hence Proudhon’s contribution to the ideas of the Revolution was received with hostility. Alone among the revolutionists of the time, he saw the necessity to destroy the social basis of the past by expropriating the bourgeois class and by the equalisation of incomes. This was no mere

¹ Proudhon, p. 48.



Barricade in Naples, May, 1848

socialistic flourish. Proudhon knew from practical experience of life that the obedience of the ruled is chiefly exacted by economic pressures and he saw that the power of the reaction and the social order over which it ruled could only be broken by radical economic adjustments. Expropriation was not merely an act of social justice, it was a severely practical safeguard for the revolution.

Of course, such economic measures against the possessing class had been recognised as necessary by the socialist schools of Saint Simon and Fourier long before Proudhon. Such ideas were part of the accepted ideas of socialism. Yet the Ledru-Rollins and Louis Blancs, far from acclaiming Proudhon's proposition, voted with the majority that "the proposition of Citizen Proudhon is an odious attack on the principles of public morals". Proudhon's resolution, which he put before the Assembly on July 31st, 1848, received only two votes in favour—his own and that of a Socialist named Greppo.

The interesting point is not that such a resolution should have been put forward, but that none of the prominent Socialists except Proudhon should have supported it. The process is one which has been repeated in succeeding revolutions: in Kropotkin's words about the day after revolutionary uprisings, "when the immense majority of those who yesterday gloried in the name of revolutionaries hasten to pass into the ranks of the defenders of order". It was in defence of order that the military laid siege to the working-class districts and overcame the working-men's army in June, 1848. It was in the name of order that Thiers massacred in 1871 the Communards, whose very appellation of "Federalists" was a tribute to Proudhon's federalist conceptions.

This matter of the economic timidity of revolutionary leaders is of immense practical importance, for it has contributed to the failure of the great revolutions of our own time, in 1917 and 1936.

At the fourth Congress of the First International at Basle in September, 1869, the followers of Bakunin advanced a resolution condemning the principle of

hereditary succession to property, and then went on to demand the abolition of private property altogether. Although such a step would seem to be an essential prerequisite for the social ownership of production by the community at large (I do not say by the State), it was fiercely contested by the Marxist section of the International. The resolution was nevertheless accepted by a majority vote, and it was this victory for the ideas of Bakunin that determined Marx on the manœuvres which ended with the removal of the General Council to New York and the virtual destruction of the International. That Marx's hostility to the complete abolition of private property on this occasion was not merely a tactical question is shown by his assertion that in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 he only sought the expropriation of capitalists' property.¹

Despite the success of Bakunin's resolution in the Fourth Congress of the International, the Paris Commune of 1871 merely advocated a limited collectivism making only large-scale industry socially owned. Where Proudhon had put expropriation of the Banks as the first act which the revolution must accomplish and the only one which could in no circumstances be allowed to wait, the Communards failed to see the need to cut away the economic basis of the bourgeois power by expropriating the Bank of France and all economic undertakings. Hence with his economic powers virtually unimpaired, Thiers was able to exact his brutal revenge.

And the revolutions in Russia and Spain also left intact a money and wages system which permitted the new rulers to impose the same economic fetters on the workers which they imagined they had destroyed in the uprisings that brought down the old régime. Proudhon's lesson has yet to be learned.

So far the events of 1848 have been treated only as they relate to France. But the significant thing about the revolutions of that year was just the fact that they were not confined to one country; the whole of Europe was

¹ F. R. Salter, *Karl Marx and Modern Socialism*, p. 52.

affected by the revolutionary unrest. Beginning in Italy, the revolution spread to France and then to Germany, Austria and the Slav countries, while in England the Chartist movement flickered before going out altogether. It is not, however, true that the movement "spread" from one country to another, certainly not in the sense that it was consciously carried by revolutionists across national frontiers. For, as other writers have pointed out, 1848 was notable for the nationalist character of its uprisings. For the most part, the active revolutionists had no internationalist conceptions, and the armies of one republic were used to crush the republican aspirations of another revolution.

Subsequent revolutions have made fully clear the lesson that radical social changes cannot be made *and maintained* by a revolutionary people in isolation. But in 1848 this lesson appears to have been grasped by one man only. In other directions Bakunin's social ideas were to mature considerably in the years that followed. But he was already an internationalist when he wrote in 1848 :

"Two great questions were posed from the first days of the spring : the social question and that of the independence of all nations, the emancipation at once of people at home and abroad. It was not a few individuals, nor was it a party ; it was the admirable instinct of the masses which had raised these two questions above all others and which demanded a prompt solution to them. Everybody had understood that liberty is only a lie where the great majority of the population is reduced to leading a poverty-stricken existence, where, deprived of education, leisure, and bread, they find themselves more or less destined to serve as stepping-stones for the powerful and the rich. The social revolution then appears as a natural and necessary consequence of the political revolution. In the same way it was felt that while there was in Europe a single nation persecuted, the decisive and complete triumph of democracy would not be possible anywhere. The oppression of a people, even of a single

individual, is the oppression of all, and it is impossible to violate the liberty of one without violating the liberty of all. . . . The social question, a very difficult question, bristling with dangers and big with tempests, cannot be resolved either by a pre-conceived theory or by any isolated system. To solve it, there must be the faith of all in the right of everybody to an equal liberty. It is necessary to overthrow the material and moral conditions of our present existence, break into ruins from below this decaying social world, which has become impotent and sterile and which will be unable to contain or allow such a great mass of liberty. It will be necessary beforehand to purify our atmosphere and transform completely the surroundings in which we live, which corrupt our instincts and our wills, in limiting our hearts and our intelligences. The social question thus appeared from the first as the overthrowing of society."

I have quoted this passage at length because it contains so many points of interest—to some of which I shall return later. But for the moment what concerns us is the breadth of Bakunin's revolutionary conceptions which extend far beyond the boundaries of mere political frontiers. The factors which made 1848 the year of European revolutions were doubtless mainly the economic ones which underlay them all. But the nationalist revolutionists did not recognise this fundamental community of interests. Marx had addressed his peroration in the *Communist Manifesto* to the workers of the world, but twenty odd years later in 1870 he still thought in nationalist terms, for he looked for the victory of Prussia over France as a step forward for Socialism. For the internationalists of that time he had nothing but scorn. French workers in a manifesto to the German workers had declared in 1870: "Brothers, we protest against the war, we who wish for peace, labour, and liberty. Brothers, do not listen to the hirelings who seek to deceive you as to the real wishes of France." And German internationalists replied: "We too wish for peace, labour and liberty. We know that on both sides of the Rhine there are brothers

with whom we are ready to die for the Universal Republic." These men—anonymous workers—had a vision of the human race undivided by war-making frontiers. But Marx and Engels wrote to one another of the "imbeciles of Paris and their ridiculous manifesto".

Nor were internationalist conceptions fully grasped by the Russian and Spanish revolutionaries. It is only too clear that even advanced theoreticians in these countries thought primarily of their national problems and considered revolutionary trends in other countries only as possible adjuncts to their own struggle. Absorbed in the local upheaval, they could not see it as a symptom of world unrest which must either spread universally or be engulfed by the reaction. It is a sobering reflection that Bakunin had grasped the universal position as long as a hundred years ago, for internationalism can hardly ever have been at such a low ebb as now.

A radical view of the economic problem of the social revolution, and internationalism : Proudhon and Bakunin had understood these questions in 1848 and revolutionary theorists have conceded the correctness of their views. But more important still, because almost unrecognised even today, were certain views about the motive force and the directing power behind revolutionary events. Once again the anarchists Proudhon and Bakunin had reached conclusions far in advance of contemporary social thinkers, in the course of those all-night sessions in which they argued about Hegel and listened to the symphonies of Beethoven.

Even today it is regarded almost as axiomatic that revolutions are *led*. Led by intellectuals, men who have pondered the social questions and in their wisdom instruct the "blind masses" as to what is best for them. Intellectual leaders or military adventurers : these are still the revolutionists of romantic history and propaganda build-ups. And inevitably the ambitious men who seek such roles make use of an instrument suitable

for imposing their views on the "blind mass". That instrument is the political party, and its power, its malign power over the lives of millions has already been referred to. Can the ideas of 1848 shed any light for us on these dark places?

The most outstanding characteristic of revolutions is their tremendous energy. As Kropotkin pointed out, this overbounding energy sweeps away old institutions and in a few years transforms the social structure in directions which cannot be reversed.

Such changes cannot be the work solely of parties, for no such changes occur at non-revolutionary moments when initiative rests much more securely in the hands of the political grouping which forms the government. Revolutions emerge from the initiative of masses of anonymous people, from "the agreement", in Kropotkin's words, "of immense numbers of wills". The dominance of the party requires the exact opposite; initiative must rest in the hands of a comparatively small number of party functionaries and their will must prevail over a more or less docile population. It is to be noted that such docile submission, if not vouchsafed voluntarily, is secured by practical politicians by means of police, secret or otherwise, wielding an immense system of punitive laws and penal institutions. Such structures most certainly do not exist to give free play to the revolutionary energy and aspirations of masses of a population.

It is not perhaps surprising that the power for social change possessed by a mere party is trivial compared to that which a revolutionary population achieves in a few months. Such a conception of the motive force of revolutionary events is not widely current today. Yet Proudhon had grasped it well enough when he wrote: "Philosophic reason . . . does not admit, with the Jacobins and the doctrinaires, that one can proceed to . . . reform by legislative authority. *It only gives its confidence to reforms which come out of the free will of societies; the only revolutions which it acknowledges are those which proceed from the initiative of the masses; it denies, in the most*

*absolute manner, the revolutionary competence of governments."*¹

In the passage quoted already Bakunin is seen to have reached the same conception. Regarding the social question and internationalism, he declared : " It was not a few individuals, nor was it a party ; it was the admirable instinct of the masses which raised these two questions above all others, and which demanded a prompt solution of them."

With such a conception, it is clear that any move which tends to remove initiative from the revolutionary mass by placing it in the hands of a few individuals or a party will undermine the source of energy for revolutionary change. Such a transference of initiative will bring the revolution to a standstill.

And so it proves in history. In 1848, as in 1789, the revolution came to a standstill when the period of revolutionary motivation gave place to the formation of a strong government. In Russia, the revolution of workers and peasants was overwhelmed by the emergence of a strongly centralised political party with its discipline and its secret police. And the outstanding achievements of the Spanish revolution were the work of the anonymous peasants and workers in the collective farms and factories which they organised and controlled independent of the shadow government of Largo Caballero. The function of the party government of Negrin was to dismantle these achievements and inevitably (though apparently incidentally) the anti-Fascist struggle as well.

The reliance on political parties and political leaders is in no small part due to the influence of Marx. He and Engels were capable of regarding even international wars from the point of view of whether or not they advanced their particular theories within the Socialist movement. The following letter from Marx to his collaborator shows this with brutal clarity, and at the same time exhibits the contempt which these leaders evinced for the revolutionary workers, and also their underlying nationalism :

" The French need a thrashing. If the Prussians are

¹ P. J. Proudhon : *Confessions of a Revolutionary* (1849).

victorious the centralisation of state power will be helpful for the centralisation of the German working class ; furthermore, German predominance will shift the centre of gravity of West European labour movements from France to Germany. And one had but to compare the movement from 1866 till today to see that the German working class is in theory and organisation superior to the French. Its dominance over the French on the world stage would mean likewise the dominance of our theory over that of Proudhon. . . .”

The leadership conception is clearly expressed in this passage. It leads directly on not only to Lenin's outspoken opinion that the workers could only achieve a trade-union mentality and therefore require intellectuals to do their thinking for them, but also to the more polite dictatorship of the intellectuals expressed by the Labour Party.

With such a conception it is not surprising that Marx and Engels deplored the initiative of the French workers in 1870. “If one could have any influence at Paris,” wrote Engels to his friend, “it would be necessary to prevent the working folk from budging until the peace.”¹ No doubt it was the same fear of the energy of revolutionary masses which made Marx continually exclaim : “Tell the working men of Marseilles to put their heads in a bucket !”

There is no need to idealise or to idolise the “masses” : it is enough to regard the political fiascos of 1848 with a clear eye and to reflect that in this, as in preceding and succeeding revolutions, the revolutionary achievements derived from the spontaneous uprisings of the mass. The leadership conception is the antithesis of this, and its corollary, the emergence of the political party as the would-be controlling force, signifies the end of the revolution, the beginning of the counter-revolution. With all its imperfections, futilities and failures, 1848 contains the seeds whose germination could fructify the social revolutions of the future.

¹ F. R. Salter : *Karl Marx and Modern Socialism*, p. 61.

by Hugh Ross Williamson

1848 IN ENGLAND



TO look into the past is as hazardous a proceeding as to look into the future. That the one is called the science of history and its academic exponents held in high honour, while the other is known as fortune-telling and its practitioners prosecuted by the police, does not destroy their essential similarity. The exposition of past tendencies by reference to a few selected actions (themselves an infinitesimal proportion of the facts relevant to any situation) which is called history, hardly differs from the deduction of future actions from an appraisalment of a handful of present tendencies, which is called prophecy. Both depend, in the last analysis, on the personal temperament and equipment of the observer—who is himself involved in the time process—and have very little, if any, objective validity.

This preamble seems to be necessary because the task allotted to me in this essay is to suggest what in the England of 1848 is significant from the standpoint of 1948 ; and, as “ significant ” in the context must refer to possible future developments, it will be seen that I am committed to both kinds of necromancy. Readers, therefore, who do not care for this somewhat specialised type of romantic fiction are warned that they had better skip this chapter ; but lest they should wish to know at least the solution, it shall be stated here at the beginning—namely, the repercussions of the Irish potato famine, and the meeting of Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley.

At first glance, the “ year of revolutions ” in England has a recognisable and familiar pattern and, if any just proportion is to be observed, this must be noticed first.

1848 opened with the publication of the "military testament" of that "illustrious veteran", the Duke of Wellington, advising preparations for the imminent war with France (which, so far, has not taken place). On the one hand, it inspired considerable confidence by his admission: "I have for years been sensible of the alteration produced in maritime warfare and operations by the application of steam to the propelling of ships at sea." On the other, it led to the increase of the income tax from 7*d.* to 1*s.* in the pound to defray the expense of preparedness, which "provoked an explosion of public wrath such as no other Budget has kindled since."¹

In the same month as the Budget—February—there was the reception of exiled European royalty (which was later to become so settled an English habit). Louis Philippe, under the name of Smith, landed at Newhaven with the remark: "I have always felt pleasure in coming to England. Thank God I am in England once more"; and eventually, by way of Claremont, found his way to The Star and Garter at Richmond.

Royal occasions at home were not lacking. The Queen gave birth to a daughter, Louisa Caroline Alberta, and the Prince Consort composed the music of the *chorale* which was sung at her christening:

In life's gay morn, ere sprightly youth
By vice and folly is enslaved,
Oh! may thy Maker's glorious name
Be on thy infant mind engraved.

Later in the year they all went to Balmoral and attended the Highland Games, where the Royal Family "exhibited that interest in the wild and manly sports which is so acceptable everywhere and not least to the brave Highlanders". At Christmas they appeared as patrons of the art of the theatre by ordering a private performance of *The Merchant of Venice* at Windsor, and allowing it to be repeated at the Haymarket Theatre to a crowded

¹ This was admittedly written in 1908, before Lloyd George's famous Budget. (Herbert Paul's *History of Modern England*, Vol. I, p. 88.)

audience "who eagerly flocked to see what had thus been stamped with the Royal approbation".

Appreciation of the other arts remained at their normal level. The colonnade of the Regent's Quadrant was pulled down, "on grounds of morality and convenience" and the materials sold by private contract to the railway. Visitors to the Royal Academy gave pride of place to the exquisite pathos of Landseer's picture of "a hind lying dead on a snowy hill with a fawn vainly seeking the maternal nutriment". At Christie's, Rembrandt's portrait of his mother—"a very real but a very ugly face"—fetched £252, and Murillo's "St Thomas distributing Alms" (which was much bigger) £2,992 10s. Mr Tennyson, inspired by the prospects of female education contributed the poem of the year, *The Princess*.

In the ecclesiastical world, one Archbishop of Canterbury, an Erastian nonentity named Howley, died and was succeeded by another Erastian nonentity named Sumner, and a third, Musgrave, was enthroned Archbishop of York. Lord John Russell and the Queen, determined to use to the full the power of the State to hinder the spread of Catholic doctrine, appointed the notoriously heretical Dr Hampden to the see of Hereford (against which half the bishops protested) and cries of "Mockery! Humbug! Deceit!" rang through the church as he took the oaths.

The "No Popery" agitation was to come in a year or two, but the July of this year saw the consecration of the Roman Catholic cathedral of St George in Lambeth—"the largest and most magnificent church erected in England for the worship of the Church of Rome since the Reformation"—and Londoners were able to witness the great procession in full canonicals of the Archbishop of Trèves and four other Continental bishops, Dr Wiseman and ten English prelates, nearly three hundred priests and members of the Orders of Passionists, Dominicans, Cistericans, Benedictines, Franciscans and Oratorians. The procession was preceded and followed by "youths bearing lights and lilies".

As regards the Jewish fraternity, a considerable amount of pro- and anti-Semitism was engendered by the rejection by the Lords of the Commons' Bill to allow Baron Lionel Rothschild to take his seat in the House as elected Member of Parliament for the City of London, by sanctioning the omission from the oath of the words "on the true faith of a Christian". The Bill was introduced by the Prime Minister and supported by, among others, Gladstone and Disraeli. Bishop Wilberforce, who opposed it in the Lords, insinuated that Rothschild had paid the Prime Minister's election expenses.

As day to day excitements, there were murders, railway accidents, law-suits—£2,500 awarded against Jenny Lind for failure to fulfil her contract to appear at Drury Lane. There were bye-elections and race-meetings—Surplice won the Derby, Cymba the Oaks, and Goodwood, the most fashionable meeting, "went off with less éclat than usual" because of the weather. There was the death of an American millionaire, which was "news" because he was J. J. Astor and was reputed to have been worth twenty-five million. There was a reform of studies at Cambridge to meet modern educational requirements; and the controversy about the Sea-serpent was settled, temporarily, by Captain Peter M'Quhae, who saw one and supplied "a very spirited drawing, made from memory immediately after the occurrence" for publication in the *Illustrated London News*.

There was the appearance of cholera, by way of the Northern sea-ports in October.

And there was the Charter—and the miseries of Ireland.

Max Beer, in his *History of British Socialism*, has headed the section which deals with the Charter in 1848: "The Final Flicker and Extinction". Thus both posterity and contemporaries saw the alarums and excursions which culminated in the fiasco of April 10th on Kennington Common.

The story of it is too well-known to need more than a few mnemonic phrases—the Government warning of April 6th that the proposed meeting would be illegal because it would cause terror and alarm ; the Duke of Wellington in command of the troops guarding the three bridges ; the hundred and seventy thousand special constables sworn in for the occasion, including William Ewart Gladstone and the future Napoleon III ; the mere twenty thousand people (hardly a tenth of what was expected and announced) who attended the demonstration ; O'Connor's interview with Mayne by the Horns Tavern ("Feergus O'Connor"—as one historian excellently epitomises it—"had one fatal disqualification for a leader of revolt : he was afraid of the police. When Mr Mayne, the Commissioner, told him that the procession would not be allowed to cross the river, the truculent agitator thanked the representative of the Law with effusive civility and advised the crowd to disperse") ; the shower of rain, which dispersed the crowd more effectively than any human agency ; the arrival of the petition at the House of Commons in three cabs ; the discovery that there were not over five and a half million signatures, as advertised, but under two million, and that they included, as well as many duplicates and many in the same handwriting, no less than seventeen by the Duke of Wellington to say nothing of those by Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. *Not with a bang but a whimper.*

The Annual Register's comment that the demonstration "was put down not by the troops, nor even by the police, but *by the people themselves*—by the zealous and almost unanimous determination of all classes that such proceedings should not be permitted" was, on the whole, just.

If April 10th, 1848, was virtually the end of the Chartists, the Charter itself was, in one sense, an end, not a beginning. Its relevance is not to the future but to the past. It was the epilogue to the three-hundred-

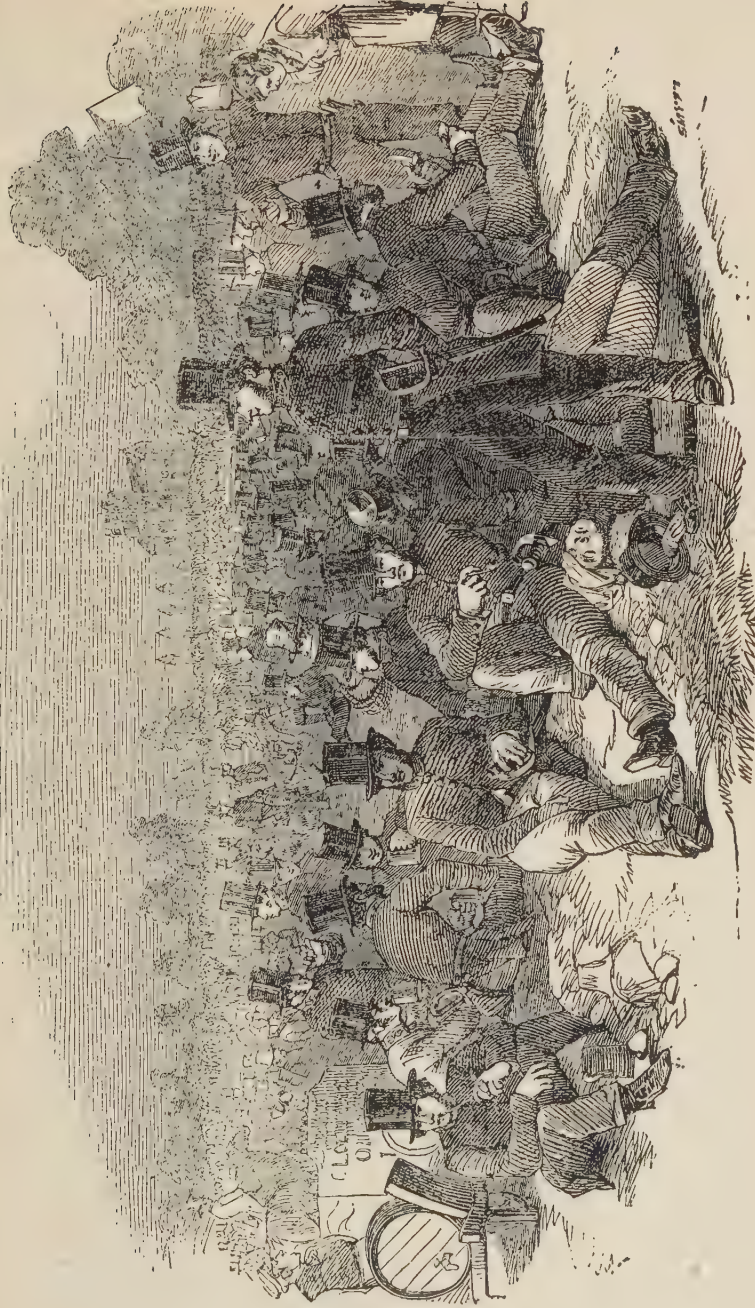
year-old *Agreement of the People* (the demands of both are substantially the same) with all the military discipline and the religious fervour gone out of it. In its trust in a mere political panacea, and its ethical idealism, rooted in no theological belief, it suggests an analogy with Victorian nonconformity, and G. K. Chesterton's famous remark about the one might not unfairly be applied to the other: "The great roar of Roundhead psalms which cried out that the God of Battles was loose in English meadows shrank to a single snuffle." It was with the *Communist Manifesto*, not with the Charter, that the future was to be concerned.

But on that day of April, 1848, there was another meeting. That morning Charles Kingsley, the twenty-eight-year-old Rector of Eversley, came up to London and went to Frederick Denison Maurice's house at Lincoln's Inn, where he met J. M. Ludlow, a young barrister, who, the previous month, had written from Paris to Maurice on the necessity of "christianising French socialism". (Ludlow, who had been educated in France till he was seventeen, had been much influenced by the ideas of Louis Blanc, whose *L'Organisation du Travail* inspired the scheme of "Association"—co-operative production—which became the ideal of the Christian Socialists in England.) In the afternoon, he and Kingsley set out for Kennington Common, but on Waterloo Bridge learnt the news of the fiasco. They returned to Maurice with the news. The three men saw this as a moment of supreme opportunity. They sat up till four in the morning, drafting a placard for posting in the streets next day. The writing of it was Kingsley's. It was addressed to "The Workmen of England", told them that "almost all men who have heads and hearts" sympathised with their wrongs, but urged that the Charter itself would not make them free. "Friends, you want more than Acts of Parliament can give. . . . Almighty God and Jesus Christ, the Poor Man who died for poor men, will bring freedom to you, though all the Mammonites on earth were against you."

Of this, Dr Raven in his *Christian Socialism* writes : " It is the first manifesto of the Church of England, her first public act of atonement for a half-century of apostasy, of class prejudice and political sycophancy. And as such . . . it may fairly be described by that much abused word, epoch-making."

It must be confessed, however, that its impact on the majority of workers at the time was the same as it probably would be on any secularly-minded Trade Unionist today. Their response might be conveniently epitomised by the remark with which a character in Flecker's play *Don Juan* interrupts an idealistic orator—a remark which accurately summarizes a century of Trade Union policy : " What piffle this bloody young fool is talking . . . What *we* want is less bloody work and more bloody wages."

Without discussing the relative merits of the approaches, it may be pointed out that it is precisely in their divergence that the significance of Kingsley Maurice and Ludlow's gesture lies. For Kingsley's manifesto would not only have been understood but taken for granted by the signatories of the *Agreement of the People*. It was because they considered themselves " saved ", because they were the " Saints ", the " Elect ", that they dared put forward their schemes. Their arguments were drawn from the Bible and a committee might at any moment turn into a prayer-meeting. Moreover, they were legislating for a country in which everyone was presumed to be a Christian, at least in the sense that they had been baptized and thereby cleansed from the taint of original sin. The idea that *unregenerate* men could exercise political power or even vote for political representatives would not have occurred to anyone in seventeenth century England, from the most extreme Puritan to the most unbending Papist. They might—and did—disagree to the death about the signs and circumstances of such regeneration and the true nature of the Church as the assembly of the Redeemed, but on this one point they were united. To give any kind of power to unbaptized



Peelers at Chartist Meeting in December, 1848

men who were by that token incapable of doing right, however good their intentions, because still under the dominance of Original Sin, would have been to connive at the establishment of the Devil's kingdom on earth.

Two hundred years later, by the time of the Charter, Rousseau had changed all that. The noble savage had come into his own. In place of Man as a being "not to be trusted", was the conception of Man as a noble animal intrinsically capable of ordering society aright. The obstacles were not in himself (as the Church then, now and always insisted) but in circumstances; and he, himself, given his head, could right those circumstances. Thus the basis of the Chartist demand for universal franchise and the basis assumed in the *Agreement of the People* had really less in common than their surface similarity would suggest, because the "man" who had the right to vote was regarded in antithetical ways.

Even in 1848 (the year of the "Gorham Judgment", which shows the Church of England wavering on the subject of baptism) this theological distinction was blurred. In 1948, it has become to a great majority of people in England practically unintelligible, though the implications of it are so obvious in the opposition of Catholicism and Communism. For it was to be the Catholics, not the Puritans, who defended the Christian position unwaveringly in all its logic; as it was to be the Communists, not the Socialists, who as relentlessly accepted the logical consequences of the opposite view.

It is not, therefore, so much in the movement of Christian Socialism itself, *as a movement*, that, for 1948, the significance of the meeting of Kingsley, Maurice and Ludlow lies, though the practical results—the conferences with Chartist workmen, the *Tracts on Christian Socialism*, the trade associations, the establishment of the Working Men's College—were by no means negligible in their political influences both then and now. It is rather that, especially in Maurice's writings, the vision of an ordered and just society is linked, not with political expediency, economic determinism or feelings of moral

indignation, but with the theological imperatives of the New Testament. Kingsley could say: "I am a Chartist—and I am a Christian." If Maurice's aim can be described epigrammatically as "to socialise the Christian and to christianise the Socialist", the principle went in reality far deeper than that simplification implies. "We want", wrote Maurice, "the Church fully to understand her own foundation, fully to work out the communism which is implied in her existence. Church Reformation, therefore, in its highest sense, involves *theologically* the reassertion of these truths in their fulness . . . , *socially* the assertion on the ground of these truths of an actually living community under Christ, in which no man has a right to call anything that he has his own, but in which there is spiritual fellowship and practical co-operation."

The writings of Maurice—particularly *The Kingdom of Christ* in which, in 1838, he had stated all the ideas he was later to develop—and the theological standpoint of the Christian Socialists, created an intellectual climate which made it possible for many who were not Roman Catholics, in the century between then and now, to accept as the basis of their social theory the great Papal Encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*.¹ This outlook was quite distinct from, though at times superficially confused with, the religious fervour of many early Labour and Trade Union leaders, which derived from Nonconformity, either as its product or as its substitute.

The latter may be claimed with some truth as the attenuated survivors of the Puritan revolutionaries, by way of the Chartist "revolutionaries", and uncom-

¹ e.g. (from *Rerum Novarum*). "The immense number of proletarians on the one hand and the immense wealth of certain very rich people on the other are an unanswerable argument that the earthly goods so abundantly produced in this age of industrialism are far from rightly distributed and equitably shared among the various classes of men. . . . In our days not only is wealth concentrated but immense power and economic domination are concentrated in the hands of a few, and those few frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds."

fortable and discommoded in the logic of the situation as it confronts them today. Ground between the upper mill-stone of Catholicism and the lower mill-stone of Communism, they are fated to slow extinction. Or, to change the image, as Catholicism and Communism, with different views of the nature and destiny of man but with very much the same view of the contemporary situation, gather their forces for the fight of the future, the ethical idealists of democratic socialism are being forced to answer "Under which king, Bezonian?" and to take sides or retire from the battle.

Thus it is not an altogether wild speculation, I think, to see in the meeting of Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley one of the key events of 1848 as it affects 1948. The result, certainly, may not have been their exact intention; but that result is an influential body of opinion, favourable to the extreme of just social reform and not of the Roman obedience, which understands and in a crisis would stand by, the Catholic side.

On April 10th, 1848, there was still another event, which was neither an end nor a beginning, but a symptom and a symbol. In the House of Commons, business proceeded as usual and the Home Secretary rose to move the second reading of the Crown and Government Security Bill, the object of which was to extend to Ireland the Treason Act of George III, to create the new offence of treason felony, punishable with transportation, and to make "open and advised speaking" with seditious intent a crime, even if no action followed. Opposing this Bill, Smith O'Brien, the Member for Limerick, made his last appearance in the House and uttered his memorable protest: "I have been called a traitor. I do not profess disloyalty to the Queen of England. But if it is disloyalty to profess treason to this House, and to the government of Ireland by the Parliament of Great Britain, then I avow the treason." The Bill

became law with little opposition, O'Brien was transported to Tasmania, another Bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland was passed and, in 1849, Lord John Russell wrote complacently that "agitation is extinct, repeal is forgotten, the seditious associations are closed, the priests are frightened and the people tranquil".

For fatuity alone, this verdict ranks high in the list of utterances by English statesmen. For hypocritical mendacity it is probably unequalled. Even in 1948 we are still reaping—nor is the end of the harvest in sight—the political and economic whirlwind sown a century ago, and we may justly endorse the verdict of wilful murder against Lord John Russell which was brought in at the time by Irish famine juries. For at the root of the troubles lay the famine of the three previous years; and to this situation a Treason-Felony Act and a suspension of Habeas Corpus was not an answer but an exacerbation—and an unpardonable and unpardoned insult to desperate, evicted, starving men and women.

This aspect of English policy in 1848 and its results in 1948 are too obvious to need more than mention; but the emigration consequent on it had other repercussions not without their bearing on today.

If it is not possible to give the exact figures for 1848 itself, a tolerably clear picture may be obtained from the following statistics—remembering also that the famine raged in 1845, 1846, and to a lesser degree in 1847, and that in 1849 the destitution was still so appalling that even Russell considered initiating a scheme (opposed by the Cabinet and abandoned) for emigrating destitute Irish to Canada.

In 1841 the census in Ireland enumerated just over 8 million; in 1851, it showed only $6\frac{1}{2}$ million—and the fall continued unchecked to the $4\frac{1}{2}$ million of 1901. In 1841, the numbers of the Irish-born population in England stood at 224,128; in 1851, at 419,256. During 1847 alone, over 300,000 deck passengers from Ireland landed in Liverpool, although a large proportion died of epidemics in the overcrowded city and others did not

remain in England but re-embarked for America or Australia.

The situation in America, as it affects today, may be best understood by a glance at another table, recently published in the third volume of *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. This is a piece of anthropological research applied to an old New England community, Yankee City. Of the ethnic groups which entered the city, the Irish who arrived in the decade 1840-1850 numbered by 1933, 3,933; all the other groups of later immigrants combined—French-Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles and Russians—numbered only 3,623. This is a microcosm of America as a whole which confirms the oft-made, but true, generalisation that the Irish in America provided a driving-force for “anti-English” policies which, but for the influx of the hate-ridden settlers of the late 1840’s, might have fallen into oblivion.

These two emigrations—to England and to America—are not without their bearing on 1948. The most lasting and significant effect of the first is related to the thesis propounded in the previous section. The Irish immigration was directly connected with the re-establishment, in 1850, of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, when Pope Pius IX, by the Letters Apostolic *Universalis Ecclesiae*, erected one metropolitan See and twelve suffragan bishoprics and made Wiseman Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster.

That this re-establishment would probably have been in any case carried out—though not for many years and in different circumstances—is not to be denied; but the determining factor, at that time, was undoubtedly the Irish influx which had created a new situation with which the old Vicars-Apostolic and the comparatively few priests were not fitted to deal. And the action itself had—for 1948—a decisive influence, by comparison with which the mere ecclesiastical uproar it provoked, and the secular-economic aspect of the Irish on the labour-market, sink into insignificance.

After a hundred years, the Roman Catholic Church is, in fact, the strongest effective religious body in England. For the titular membership of those who attach "C. of E." as a label of "belief" is no indication of the effective strength of the Church of England. The relevant figures are rather to be found in the 2,134,897¹ Easter communicants of the Church of England and the 2,406,419 members, under obligation to attend Mass each Sunday, of the Church of Rome.

The theological implications of this fact are nothing to the purpose of this essay, but its bearing on the Catholic-Communist issue is of major importance, which it should be unnecessary to underline.

The effect of the emigration *vis-à-vis* the United States is hardly less marked. For the underlying problem of ourselves and America today is far more profound than the simple rationalisation of the capitalist U.S.A. *versus* communist U.S.S.R. opposition suggests. The one salient fact about America which is of value in analysing the world-situation is that "America" is, fundamentally and essentially, the dispossessed, driven-out, disappointed—and criminal—classes of Europe, and that its deepest psychic need (often unconscious) is to take its revenge. It is this need which manifests itself in such widely different actions as shelling Monte Cassino, bombing Dresden, making a slum of Grosvenor Square, or entangling a hungry Continent in a net of usury. On the positive side, this is the explanation of the "American way of life" with its worship of material success, of "making good", the cult of the "Almighty Dollar"; the fear of failure. "No one bothers to know why", wrote that acute observer, Malcolm Muggeridge, on his return from the United States, "they all want to know how much. They hate to be alone, they hate silence. They shun failure and decay with an almost superstitious dread. The day an adolescent gets a driving licence is like a first communion or a feast of circumcision." This positive gospel is hardly less dangerous than destructive

¹ This is the 1940 figure. It is now (1948) under two millions.

assaults when it is injected like a poison into the body of Christendom by such agencies as journalism and films. But the ethic is comprehensible enough, to be pitied rather than blamed, when the background is remembered and to this situation the events of 1848 contributed not a little. More importantly, an understanding of the English responsibility *then* can lead to some comprehension and forgiveness of the American attitude *now*. 1948 should remember 1848.

Thus, it is in these two events—the meeting of Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley, and the repercussions of the Irish potato famine—that I should suggest lies the main significance of the Year of Revolutions for the year of the threat of atomic war. The selection, as I said at the outset, is necessarily a personal and arbitrary one, but at least it tries to take account of an existing situation which makes even the conventional theories of 1944 outmoded.

As Maurice B. Reckitt has written in that most penetrating essay, *Reflections on a Centenary*: “In 1914 it was revealed that peaceful Progress was not automatic. In 1917 it was shown that social change might still be catastrophic. There were cognate revelations in 1931, 1933 and 1939 (to select only those dates), but in 1945 came one more sensational still, when it was seen that war, now generally proclaimed to be necessarily ‘total’, could only be so in future if men were prepared to put all civilisation, and indeed their own continued existence as a species, in jeopardy. Now in 1948 we have to make terms with the fact that ‘social evolution’ is a fallacy, and that war and revolution alike have become technical impossibilities. It is doubtful whether the tremendous implications of these revelations have been at all sufficiently grasped. . . . How then, in this centenary of the Year of Revolutions, are we to face a situation by the side of which the problems of 1848 look almost elementary?”

One may hazard one last prognostication—that the solution which posterity will notice will be in some

circumstance as remote and apparently irrelevant, as far removed from the blaze of publicity and the calculations of statesmen, as were a meeting in Lincoln's Inn between two clergymen and a barrister, and the arrival of half-starved peasants at Liverpool docks a century ago.



1848

Impressions and
Documents

In making this selection of documents and quotations from contemporary writings to illustrate the theme of *A Hundred Years of Revolution*, my choice was necessarily limited by the space at my disposal. This in itself prevented me from even attempting to compress into my selection the significant documents of the whole hundred years, and, after consideration, I decided that the best method to adopt was to give a fairly adequate collection of writings relative to 1848, but selected in such a way as to point the direction which history was to take in the next century.

For this reason, I have omitted voices like those of Metternich and Guizot, who in their own time spoke only of the past. In general, I have sought to show, by factual descriptions and by documents, those tendencies within the events of 1848 which pointed towards the social developments of that future in which we are still living, and for this reason I have devoted special sections to the significant theoreticians who appeared during 1848 and to the afterthoughts on 1848 by those men who seemed most conscious of its place in the pattern of historical development.

There are unavoidable gaps, partly for reasons of space, partly because the necessary documents were not available in England. For instance, none of the libraries at my disposal (which included the British Museum) contained an adequate collection of Bakunin's writings on 1848, and I was unable to refer to the interesting writings of Baudelaire at this period. But I hope that in general my selection will be found sufficiently representative to illustrate the main theme of the significance of 1848 for our own day.

(Some Notes on the principal personalities appear on pp. 282-6.)

G. W.

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I

THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

(i) *Paris*

I. PREPARATIONS FOR REBELLION

Meanwhile, the popular party and a fraction of the middle class, whose honesty rose against the corruption of the ruling class, prepared to take up the challenge of the dynastic opposition. The secret societies and the working class districts, the two republican newspapers, *la Réforme* and *le National*, the schools, the groups of patriots in the various districts, considered the course they should take, on the next day, to answer the provocation of the ministry.

The secret societies had never ceased to exist, even after the setback of May 12th, 1838. That free-masonry of devoted soldiers was maintained, almost without new affiliations, until 1846. Manifestos, printed in Brussels, or sometimes secretly by compositors in Paris, had maintained their zeal. But the frequency with which these proclamations sooner or later fell into the hands of the police, rendered their use very dangerous. The relationships of the members between each other and with their leaders had thus become very restrained, until, in 1846, the societies re-organised themselves and once more took the initiative.

Paris was the centre around which spread the various ramifications, extending into the provincial towns. In Paris and in the departments, a similar spirit inspired all these militant companies, preoccupied rather with revolutionary action than with social theories. They talked of rifles more than of communism, and the sole formula that was adopted unanimously was Robespierre's Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The secret societies possessed their real power in the hearts of the working people, who in this way had their advance guard, a certain disciplined force, always ready to act. Their co-operation was never lacking in any political uprising, and they were found in the first rank on the barricades of February.

On the evening of the 21st, they had resolved to go on the

following day to the place of meeting, without arms and in small groups, so as to seize any opportunity, and, if it were possible, to make a demonstration against royalty.

The meeting which had the most influence on the current of events was that called on Sunday evening in the offices of *la Réforme*. About a hundred citizens, of proved views and character, there discussed in a lively manner the chances of a revolution. There were Flocon, Baune, Augier and all the editorial staff of the paper; Caussidière and many representatives of the secret societies; Louis Blanc, Thoré and some other journalists of the same colour, the editors of *L'Impartial du Nord* and of the *Haro de Caen*, and other provincial journalists; Lagrange, Rey, Albert, and a crowd of brave conspirators and men well known in the localities of Paris.

The meeting was very animated, some being content with an energetic protestation against the King's ministry, others demanding besides preparations for the resistance of force by force. The latter maintained that the insurrection was inevitable; that a hundred thousand men of good inclinations would come down in the morning into the streets and that such a good occasion should not be allowed to escape. The former feared a defeat from which the government would doubtless profit in abolishing, by new oppressive laws, all possibility of future meetings, all freedom of press and propaganda, and the little that still remained of political rights and means of emancipation.

It was agreed, meanwhile, to go singly on the next day, with hands in pockets, to the Place de la Madeleine, to observe events and influence public opinion against royalty. In case of a struggle starting, everybody was to rally to the office of *la Réforme*, in order to co-ordinate the movement vigorously and to give it a republican character.

MARC CAUSSIDIÈRE

2. THE RIOTS BEGIN

In the Place de la Concorde the cavalry continued to charge. An attempt to erect two barricades had been made in the Rue Saint Honoré. The paving-stones in the Marché Saint Honoré were being torn up. The overturned omnibuses, of which the barricades had been made, had been righted by the troops. In the Rue Saint Honoré the crowd let the Municipal Guards go by, and then stoned them in the back.

A multitude was swarming along the quays like irritated ants. A very pretty woman in a green velvet hat and a large cashmere shawl passed by amid a group of men wearing blouses and with bared arms. She had raised her skirt very high on account of the mud, with which she was much spattered ; for it was raining every minute. The Tuileries were closed. At the Carrousel gates the crowd had stopped and was gazing through the arcades at the cavalry lined up in battle array in front of the palace.

VICTOR HUGO

3. FIRST BLOOD

The announcement of the dissolution of the Guizot Cabinet was received with enthusiasm. The funds at once rose half per cent. ; many of the barricades were destroyed by the people who had raised them ; a considerable portion of Paris was spontaneously illuminated. Mobs proceeded to the houses of M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot, and others, cheering under the windows, as might occur in London before the residence of any popular leaders upon a similar occasion. Up to this moment, all appeared calculated to inspire hopes that, the real cause of the discontent being removed, the town would again today resume its tranquillity ; when an unexpected incident—a casualty, as it would almost seem—completely changed the face of affairs, and produced events, the effects of which it is impossible not to foresee will long be felt throughout Europe. A mob of about a hundred and fifty, many of them armed, followed by a curious crowd, had been proceeding in different directions, requiring that the houses should be illuminated. They had succeeded in this at the Ministère de la Justice, as I am told, and intended to require the same at the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, from which, however, M. Guizot is said to have already removed himself. Upon the arrival of the crowd before the hotel, a single shot, by whom fired will, perhaps, never be ascertained, but coming from the direction of the garden-wall, broke the leg of the horse on which the major commanding the detachment of the 14th regiment of the line was mounted. He immediately, without the slightest notice, gave an order to fire a volley into the crowd which had been collected before the hotel. An English gentleman, Mr Henry Fitzroy, who was walking quietly along on the other side of the Boulevards, told me that some fell on each side

of him. The crowd immediately dispersed into the different quarters of Paris from which they had been collected, shouting "Vengeance!" and "Treachery!" The barricades were reconstructed, new ones were formed in various parts of Paris, and when morning came it found the whole population in the greatest state of exasperation. Many of the middle classes, who had hitherto remained quiet, became indignant at this, which at first sight was supposed to have been a massacre ordered by superior authority. Some attributed it to M. Guizot, who, however, I have reason to believe had nothing whatever to do with it, and was not even there. Others, unfortunately, openly ascribed what they termed treachery to the King. From the very beginning of this disastrous affair, the misfortune has been that as offence was taken at the King's speech, and as it was generally believed that the words were his own, the disposition has been to attribute every unpopular act to His Majesty personally; and this incident occurring in the interval, after the dismissal of his ministers, increased the exasperation against the King, and rendered any arrangement difficult.

LORD NORMANBY

4. A NIGHT OF INSURRECTION

All that evening, all that night of the 23rd to 24th February, had a sinister aspect. The work of the insurrection went on with an extraordinary activity, in silence, and without any military force intervening to oppose it. Paris was filled with barricades, from the Boulevard de Gand up to the Bastille, from the Porte Saint-Denis to the Seine. The insurgent people had come down into the streets with their working tools, waiting until they could take up rifles on the next day. They cut down, alas, the beautiful trees of the boulevards; they demolished the railings of the monuments, the lamp-posts, fountains and sheds, and everything that might serve to hinder the passage of troops; they carried on to the pavements materials from houses under construction, beams, blocks of stone, planks and carts; and all this was built round with formidable walls of paving-stones. One heard nothing but the blows of axes and the sounds of trees which, in falling, broke their branches; sometimes, a clashing of weapons and a few detonations lost in the shadows; almost all the time, like a monotonous accompaniment, the sound of the tocsin; and soon the barricades were manned and

guarded by their sentinels, and one saw, around sparkling braziers, groups of squatting men, casting bullets, and smoking their pipes peacefully, in this strange bivouac in the middle of the great city which was being tilled for the planting of freedom.

The republicans, the workers, the secret societies, all men of sympathetic and generous heart, bustled valiantly during that memorable night. Some ran from barricade to barricade, already proclaiming the overthrow of the king; others gathered munitions and weapons. Everywhere resolution was unshaken, and there was an almost certain hope of at last winning the republic, for which the people had suffered so much.

At break of day, Paris thus awoke in full insurrection, and the indifferent ones, who had passed a disturbed night at home, must have been astonished at the superhuman power of these working people, who, in a few hours, had thus transformed an elegant and well-ordered town into an inextricable field of battle.

All the heart of Paris belonged to the revolt, in a square of at least a league, between the rue Montmartre and the rue Saint-Antoine, between the quays and the boulevards. The passage of the Porte Saint-Denis was closed by an enormous barricade, and the principal entries into the insurgent camp were equally defended by insurmountable barriers. In the little streets of the centre, like the Rues Beaubourg, Transnonain, des Gravillers, etc., barricades succeeded each other almost every ten paces, and the fighters moved about enthusiastically in this labyrinth of little citadels, communicating with each other and with the neighbouring houses. To see the exaltation of the people who had thus assured their domestic inviolability, to hear the shouts of *vive la republique*, made by men, women and children, made one feel that the revolution would be accomplished and that it was only a question of time.

MARC CAUSSIDIÈRE

5. FRATERNISATION

The Place de la Bastille was occupied at its two extremities by troops, leaning on their rifles. The people moved freely and peaceably between the two lines. The Mayor arrived at the foot of the July column, made his proclamation, and once again the crowd applauded vigorously. M. Moreau

started towards the Faubourg Saint Antoine. At this moment a number of working men accosted the soldiers amicably and said : " Your arms, give up your arms." In obedience to the energetic orders of their captain the soldiers refused. Suddenly a shot was fired ; it was followed by other shots ; the terrible panic of the previous day was perhaps about to be renewed. M. Moreau and his escort were pushed about, thrown down. The firing on both sides lasted over a minute, and five or six persons were killed or wounded.

Fortunately, this time the affray occurred in broad daylight. At the sight of the blood they had shed there was a revulsion of feeling on the part of the troops, and after a moment of surprise and horror the soldiers, prompted by an irresistible impulse, raised the butts of their rifles in the air and shouted : " Long live the National Guard ! " The general in command, being powerless to control his men, went off to Vincennes by way of the quays and the people remained masters of the Bastille and the faubourg.

VICTOR HUGO

6. HALCYON DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC

There was in Paris not a soldier left ; nay, not a *serjeant de ville*. The Provisional Government were destitute of all means of enforcing obedience ; they had no artillery, no bayonets at their disposal ; they had no guards, not even any organised body of adherents ; the armed crowds which, at intervals, filled the streets and the public squares, did by no means constitute a permanent, still less a disposable, force to be made use of against any individual act whether of resistance or protest. Besides, the unlimited liberty of the Press was, from the first moment, sanctioned, and every one was allowed to speak out his mind.

Such being the case, and in the absence of all compulsory power, declarations of adherence arrived from every quarter. Deputations sent by the constituted bodies, by every corporation of operatives, by every class of tradesmen, by public functionaries of every degree, by the magistracy, and by the clergy, flocked without interruption to the Hôtel de Ville. Numberless were the congratulatory addresses we received. A stream of bannered processions was constantly to be seen in the Place de Grève. Gifts of money were brought in, every minute. Never were the taxes paid so eagerly as during the first days of the Revolution of February. Ladies

of rank, the Comtesse de Mamoignon, the Comtesse de Chastenay, the Comtesse de Biencourt, the Marquise de Lagrange, the Duchesse de Maillé, and so forth, made a point of inscribing their names on the lists of subscription opened in favour of the wounded combatants.

LOUIS BLANC

7. REVOLUTIONARY MAGNANIMITY

Never perhaps in History was anything equal to the magnanimity displayed on the morrow of the Revolution of February, both by the people and the government sprung from their spontaneous suffrage. Even before the excitement of the struggle had subsided, all past offences were forgotten. No cry for vengeance was heard ; not a Royalist fell a victim to public or private resentment ; not a Republican thought of evoking the names of his brothers slaughtered in the Rue Transnonain, or seemed to remember how unmercifully the Republicans had been hunted down. Not only were their bitterest enemies left unharmed, but they met with the most generous protection.

LOUIS BLANC

8. NEW VALUES

There is nothing that has surprised me more in the wonderful changes of the last few days than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, become as useless lumber. Ladies anxious to realise a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified it that they were "rich and rare", when no one would or could buy them?

The scarcity of money at once became so great that a sovereign passed for three or four and thirty francs. Many people sent their plate to be coined into five-franc pieces. All the most expensive *nouveautés* which had been accumulated for the display of the coming season were in vain offered at a fraction of their value. It seemed a mockery to suppose that under the red flag should be mustered anything but "a ragged regiment of shreds and patches". It was curious, and melancholy, to see how suddenly the most civilised capital in the world could be reduced to the primitive

condition of barter, when, according to the instincts of savage life, the relative value of everything was estimated merely by its direct application to the purpose of protecting or prolonging existence.

LORD NORMANBY

9. THE RIGHT TO WORK

The bands which carried the red flag had left the Place de Grève hardly an hour when it again began to be thronged with a highly excited crowd. Masses of people, urged by some new impulse, rushed into it, filling it with their clamours, which reached us, while engaged in organising the *mairies*. Suddenly the council-door was flung open, and a man appeared, spectre-like. His face, savage in its look at the moment, but noble, expressive, and handsome, was of a deadly paleness. He had a gun in his hand, and his blue eye kindled as he fixed his glance intently upon us. . . . He presented himself in the name of the people, pointed with an imperious gesture to the Place de Grève, and making the butt of his musket ring on the floor, demanded the recognition of the "*Droit au Travail*". I must confess that the bullying form of the summons, for a moment, roused in me a feeling of defiance; but I instantly suppressed this inward protest, so unjust towards one who, after all, was only demanding his due. M. de Lamartine, who is as little versed in political economy as can be, and who fears any new idea of this class as children do ghosts, advanced to the stranger, and placing one hand upon his arm in a familiar, caressing way, addressed him, and went on, evidently luxuriating in the copiousness of his own eloquence, the object of which was to puzzle the man into losing sight of his demand. Marche—such was the name of the workman—looked at the orator for a while with great earnestness, as though bent on penetrating into the real meaning concealed by this haze of words. But soon discovering that there was little there, he became impatient, rang his musket on the ground, and roughly broke in with the popular form of interruption: *Assez de phrases comme ça!*

It was now time for me to interfere. I drew Marche aside and showed him a paper on which, while M. de Lamartine was speaking, I had written the following decree:—

"The Provisional Government engage themselves to guarantee the existence of the workmen by means of labour.

"They engage themselves to guarantee labour to every citizen.

"They take it to be necessary for the workmen to associate with one another in order to reap the legitimate reward of their labour."

Marche, the deputy of that mighty crowd which stood in the Place de Grève awaiting his return with grim impatience, seemed satisfied with the nature of the engagement, but rather uneasy as to the prospect of its being executed. Perceiving this, I strongly impressed upon him the difficulties which lay in the way of accomplishing such a project, and urged the absolute necessity of patience and trust in the good will of the government on the part of the people ; whereupon he approached M. de Lamartine and addressed to him these memorable words : "*Eh bien, Monsieur, le peuple attendra ; il met trois mois de misère au service de la République.*"

The decree, in the form which I had drawn up, having been adopted by my colleagues, M. Ledru Rollin then proposing this additional clause, to which no one objected, though I internally felt that it was not a thing calculated to be agreeable to those for whom it was intended :

"The Provisional Government restore to the workmen, who are its real owners, the million belonging to the late civil list, which will soon be due."

LOUIS BLANC

10. WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVES

A co-operative association of journeymen tailors having been formed, at the head of which Bérard and his two fellow-delegates were placed, I procured for them from the city of Paris an order for a hundred thousand military frocks intended for the National Guard, and also the use of the Prison de Clichy.

There, about two thousand journeymen tailors then out of employment, were installed and set to work immediately.

This co-operative association was founded upon the principles I had eight years before propounded in my book entitled *Organisation of Labour*. The associates showed themselves, from the beginning, impressed with the idea that it was their duty to contribute as much as possible to the gradual emancipation of the working classes by giving their fellow men a practical proof of the advantages of the co-operative system, when carried out as a work of mutual

responsibility and devotedness. The conditions of admission into their family were : first, the possibility of employing additional hands ; secondly, on the part of the candidate, a character for good conduct, good will, and a proper knowledge of the business. They recognised amongst themselves no other authority than that of the whole, represented by elective managers and foremen—real public servants, sure to be, in this capacity, loved, respected and obeyed. Being thoroughly convinced that the weak, in an association of Christians, ought never to be sacrificed to the strong ; that an unequal partition of the fruits of their collective labour would, in all probability, foster in those best remunerated a feeling of selfishness, and awaken in the others a feeling of envy, likely to loosen the tie of their fraternal union, and to bring it to a close through internal discord ; considering, moreover, that men who work together, in the sight of one another, with a view to a joint benefit, cannot fail to be spurred on by that self-same sense of honour which actuates men who fight side by side, with a view to a common victory—this being once admitted, that it is no less shameful for operatives to shrink from the assigned task than it is for soldiers to fly from the enemy—the journeymen tailors at Clichy adopted the system of equal wages and equal profits. Besides, it was agreed that a fund should be set apart for the relief of the widows, orphans, or invalided associates, and that the profits should be divided into two parts—one to be distributed amongst the members, and the other to be reserved for the gradual accumulation of a permanent capital, or labour fund, intended to perpetuate the association by supplying with implements of labour successive generations of workmen.



And what deserves special notice is the example they set to their brethren as men and as citizens. Among them, the rule was to take into account the good will of every individual, however humble and destitute of intellectual advantages he might be, and to encourage, to guide him, to render to him as easy as possible the performance of his task. Among them, there was no favouritism. Each man's place was assigned to him by election. Every employment carried greater obligations with it, and every dignity was a burden ; so that one of the most touching and profound

maxim of the Gospel found there its application, the first among them being really the servant of all !



Such were the exertions that gave rise to a sudden up-growth of kindred institutions, whose number, after a few months, amounted to more than a hundred, belonging to all kinds of trades. It is true that long before 1848 writings and tracts on the subject of co-operative association had been circulated amongst the workmen. I had myself treated the question at full length as early as August, 1840 ; and the co-operative system had been practically carried out by a little band of working jewellers as early as 1843. This association, however, which never numbered more than seventeen members, made no proselytes, though soundly constituted. The new principle had been germinating for years ; but it was only after the Revolution of February, and under its animating influence, that this principle began to put forth blossoms.

God knows by what labours, at the cost of what sacrifices, simple labourers succeeded in managing great enterprises of industry. From what they achieved in the way of self-organised societies, one may judge how wonderful would have been the result of their efforts had the State held out to them, according to my views, a helping hand. It did just the reverse. No sooner did the reactionists find themselves in possession of power, than they declared war against the co-operative system. Those associations which originated from the interference of the Luxembourg were not even allowed to reap the fruit of the important orders I had procured for them from the city of Paris ; they were abruptly refused the execution of agreements passed with all the forms that render a contract binding and sacred ; when an indemnity was talked of, the agents of authority interposed delays in the hope that those associations, now so cruelly dealt with, would perish before the time of payment ; and it even happened, on one occasion, that indemnity was flatly refused.

On the other hand, how many obstacles had not self-organised co-operative societies, exclusively composed of workmen, to encounter and surmount ; to give motion and life to noble ideas ; to overpower routine, and to maintain themselves against the pressure of the old world, against a

formidable display of means at the disposal of passions hostile to them, against the coalition of all monopolies : monopoly of power, monopoly of riches, monopoly of science !

With such impediments thrown in their way, even had they failed, no conclusion could have been fairly drawn in condemnation of their principle. Moreover, who knows not the difficulties of a first *début* ? In the stormy seas of the New World, how many vessels were lost on the yet unexplored breakers before the art of navigation had taught men to follow a safe and certain course !

But here, the experiment, far from being a failure, was attended with an extraordinary success. To the detractors of association, the working men of Paris made a practical answer, like that of the ancient philosopher in whose presence motion was denied : they did the thing. They associated ; all actuated by the same spirit, governed by almost identical rules, and aiming at the same general result, that is, at protecting the labourer by a kind of social insurance, and gradually raising him, by means of fraternal co-operation, to the dignity of a self-dependent man.

So great was the success of the associations in Paris, that in some quarters of the town their pay-tickets, which were cashed at the end of every month, used to pass current among the trades people, thus serving the double purpose of currency and advertisement.

LOUIS BLANC

II. THE JUNE DAYS (i)

The insurgents were firing throughout the whole length of the Boulevard Beaumarchais from the tops of the new houses. Several had ambushed themselves in the big house in course of construction opposite the Galiote. At the windows they had stuck dummies—bundles of straw with blouses and caps on them.

I distinctly saw a man who had entrenched himself behind a barricade of bricks in a corner of the balcony on the fourth floor of the house which faces the Rue du Pont-aux-Choux. The man took careful aim and killed a good many persons.

It was 3 o'clock. The troops and mobiles fringed the roofs of the Boulevard du Temple and returned the fire of the insurgents. A cannon had just been drawn up in front of the Gaîté to demolish the house of the Galiote and sweep the whole boulevard.

I thought I ought to make an effort to put a stop to the bloodshed, if possible, and advanced to the corner of the Rue d'Agoulême. When I reached the little turret near there I was greeted with a fusillade. The bullets pattered upon the turret behind me and ploughed up the playbills with which it was covered. I detached a strip of paper as a memento. The bill to which it belonged announced for that very Sunday a fête at the Château des Fleurs, "with a thousand lanterns".

VICTOR HUGO

12. THE JUNE DAYS (ii)

Whether the insurrection might not have been prevented from the first—whether barricades need have been quietly left to boys to construct—whether, in short, General Cavaignac by letting the insurrection pass, reserved to himself the sinister honour of suppressing it—these are questions for History to solve. For the present, I will only state this fact, that, at four o'clock in the afternoon, on the 23rd of June, in the Faubourg St Marceau, although it was in full insurrection, the circulation was still free, and that it would have been perfectly easy for either the civil or the military authorities to ascertain that many of the barricades were guarded by men incompletely armed, and utterly without ammunition of any kind. I have ample evidence in my possession to produce, when the proper time arrives for doing justice to all.

It is worthy of remark that this insurrection, so general in its causes and in its spirit, assumed at almost every point the character of a local protest. In many districts, the inhabitants reserved to themselves exclusively the guard of their own barricades, rejected the assistance of strangers, and after closing all access to their streets, refused to co-operate in the general attack. After the capture of the Eighth and Ninth Mairies, for instance, when preparations were made for storming the Hôtel de Ville—a very strong position, strongly defended—scarcely a few hundred combatants could be got together at the bottom of the Rue St Antoine.

Reinforcements were demanded from the Faubourgs, where the barricades could easily have spared numbers of men, but in vain. Not but that among the combatants there were many who knew well that an insurrection which stands still, or does not go forward, is lost; but that there

was a total want of unity of direction, and many of the insurgents were paralysed by the sense of their inferiority in the use of their weapons. Fifty thousand men had taken up arms : how many in that number were utterly unable to use them ! Some, who might have vigorously defended a barricade, were more than inefficient for any other purpose. And whilst in the rich quarters of the town there were thousands of isolated combatants, who were on the look-out for a loop-hole to pass over to the insurgents, there was probably a reserve of twenty thousand men in the Faubourgs, whose strength might have changed the fate of the battle.

Another cause of the unwillingness of the combatants to venture far beyond their barricades, was the want of ammunition. The gunpowder was manufactured by the insurgents, and from this fact we may determine their chances of success against regular troops, amply furnished with all the resources of war.

Yet, in spite of the inadequacy of the ammunition for offensive warfare, of the want of chiefs to concentrate their movements, of means to prolong the combat, the indomitable energy of the insurgents was astounding. The regular troops and National Guards fought well, as Frenchmen always fight ; but those who were least liable to suspicion of sympathy with the insurgents, confessed that their prodigious resolution and audacity would have sufficed, under an able general, for the conquest of the world !

Besides, thanks to M. Marie, the Ateliers Nationaux had received a military organisation, and had been divided into brigades, squadrons, and companies, comprising the men of the same arrondissement, of the same quarter, of the same street ; and in a war of barricades, in which every man resolved to fight and die at his own door, for the bread of his household, such an organisation lent a certain *ensemble* to the resistance, although the resistance was a local one.

The movement had continued to spread from point to point, until all Paris was in arms. It was not until Friday evening the Société des Droits de L'Homme was enabled to hold a meeting ; and the communications were already interrupted in so many places that it was impossible to give the sections anything like uniformity of operation. Having at their head men of ardour and decision, the sectionaries of the eighth arrondissement took an active part in the attack on the Place des Vosges. In the offices of the Socialist

journals, a poignant uncertainty prevailed amidst the contradictory rumours arriving every moment from the scene of conflict. A list of names for a new Government came from a barricade in the Faubourg St Marceau, containing the name of M. de Lamartine, together with other names then more dear to the people.

Overwhelming as the forces of the Government appeared, the end was still doubtful. At some points, the desperation of the insurgents was incredibly triumphant. In the Faubourg du Temple, where General Cavaignac had reconnoitred the fortresses, the fight assumed gigantic proportions. At the attack on the barricade Saint Maure, the troops suffered terrible loss, and were repulsed. When the darkness of night enveloped the streets, the insurgents were completely masters of that portion of the city.

Terrible was that night—a night of expectation and grief! On the following morning, the heavy guns began to thunder once more against the Faubourg, without gaining the least advantage over the insurgents, while the troops advanced, retreated, and advanced again, with alternate wrath and discouragement. Until Sunday evening, the blood of countrymen and fellow-citizens was flowing in disastrous rivalry. What was most lamentable of all, was the inexorable fury of the fight between the working men and the Garde Mobile—between fathers on one side, and sons on the other! Everybody knows now, that when the insurrection began, the Garde Mobile was more disposed to join than to attack the insurgents. But it had been so pertinaciously asserted that the insurrection was against the Republic, that one more terrible misunderstanding was added to the history of civil conflicts.

LOUIS BLANC

13. THE JUNE DAYS (iii)

The army have had a frightful loss of officers, as the marksmen from the windows almost always picked them out; but this has exasperated to the highest degree the soldiers of the line, who are determined to make a terrible example of those who still hold the barricades. Many persons of my acquaintance in society have suffered in the ranks of the National Guards; and some of the most respectable shopkeepers in Paris, known to all its frequenters as living in Rue de la Paix and the adjacent streets, have been killed.

I trust that we may now anticipate the defeat of this attempt to establish a *République Rouge*, the success of which, in the present feverish state of society, would probably have produced dreadful attempts at imitation throughout Europe, and the triumph of legalised authority cannot fail to diffuse its salutary example far and wide. But peace, when restored to this unhappy city, will have been purchased at an awful price of human suffering and misery. To say nothing of the immediate ruin of hundreds of the middle classes, who were struggling against accumulating difficulties, and whom this blow will finish for ever, what is to become of those many thousands whose state, nearly approaching to starvation, induced them to follow the counsels of desperate men? Those who escape the immediate consequences of their guilt will find their condition more hopeless than ever.

LORD NORMANBY

14. REPRISALS

After the victory the reprisals were terrible. Prisoners huddled together in the vaults beneath the terrace, in the garden of the Tuileries, which faces the Seine, were shot at random through the air-holes in the wall: others were shot in masses in the Plaine de Grenelle, in the cemetery of Mont Parnasse, in the quarries of Montmartre, in the cloister of Saint Benoît, in the court of the Hôtel de Cluny. Wretched men, whom General Cavaignac in his proclamation of the 23rd of June had addressed in these words—"Come to me, the Republic opens its arms to you"—were dragged before Councils of War to be judged by the men they had fought: and the vanquished, whom General Cavaignac had promised not to treat as victims, were despatched *en masse*, without trial. In short, a horrible and humiliating terror spread over the devastated city for many days. A single episode will complete the picture.

On the 3rd of July a considerable number of prisoners were taken out of the cellars of the École Militaire to be removed to the Prefecture of Police, and thence to the forts. They were bound four and four with cords very tightly drawn. As these poor wretches, exhausted by hunger, could hardly drag their limbs along, porringers filled with coarse soup were placed before them. Having their hands tied, they were obliged to lie down on their stomachs, and to drag themselves to the porringers like animals, amidst

shouts of laughter from the officers of the escort, who called it "Socialism in practice". I heard this from one of the unfortunate victims of this punishment, which no Indian savage could ever have invented.

But, for the honour of my country and of human nature, let me hasten to restore to these horrors the purely *individual* character that belongs to them. Thank Heaven, there is no class in France, whatever may be its prejudices, to which such excesses can be imputed, even in the blindness of power and passion. These atrocities were the acts of scoundrels, whom every party would reject, but upon whom, unhappily, the state of siege, the public stupor, the fear and rage of some, the consternation of others, had for the moment conferred an odious authority.



About 15,000 citizens were arrested after the events of June; 4,348 were sentenced to transportation without trial, *by a measure of general safety*. For two years, they demanded *to be tried*; all they could get was commissioners sent out to confer capricious pardons—the liberation of some of them being just as arbitrary as their arrest. With respect to one of the men whom these Commissioners of *Clemency*, as they styled themselves, actually transported to Africa, it is remarkable that, among the papers forming part of the copy of the evidence of the prosecution furnished to the prisoner, was found the following description: "*Lagarde, delegate of the Luxembourg, a man of incontestable integrity, of the most peaceful disposition, well informed, generally liked, and, for this reason, very dangerous in the propagation of Socialist ideas!*"

LOUIS BLANC

(ii) *Italy*

15. THE PALERMO RISING, JANUARY, 1848

On the night that preceded the 12th January, 1848, the streets of Palermo were silent and deserted; but in the houses the citizens were wakeful, agitated by fears and hopes. At the dawning of the new day the soldiers were in arms in fortified places and in their own quarters; some battalions of infantry and gendarmes occupied the public places of the prefecture of police and of the royal palace, where the General De Majo, the Lieutenant of the King, General Vail,

the Commandant of the Piazza, and other royal officers, were assembled in council. The cannons of Castellamare were drawn out for a festival, for it was the birthday of Ferdinand II, and the roads were extraordinarily full of people ; all were waiting for the conspirators to appear, for the sign to be given, for the first cry to break out, when Buscerni, a bold and ready youth, weary of delay, raised on high a musket that he had held concealed, and cried resolutely, " To arms ! To arms ! " Then Pasquale Miloro came out armed into the street of the Centorinari ; the abbot Ragona and the priest Venuti exhorted the people to rise in the name of God. There ran up to them, in arms, the advocate Tacona, Giuseppe Oddo, Prince Grammonte, Baron Bivona, Lo Cascio, Pasquale Bruno, Francesco Ciaccio, Giacinto Carini, Amodei, Enea, and a few others. Giuseppe La Masa bound to a stick a white pocket-handkerchief, a red one, and a green ribbon, and waved the three Italian colours. Santa Astorina went about distributing tricolour ribbons and cockades.

At the sight of the arms, and of the small number of those who bore them, the crowd grew thin and dispersed ; the shops were closed, and the few eager men remained alone. A few of the unarmed remained with them to divide the honour and perils of the attack ; and among these, distinguished by the loftiness of their minds and remarkable probity, were Vincenzo Errante and the Baron Casimiro Pisani. They were not disheartened ; they stood firm and bold in their resolve ; the bells of the Church of Orsola sounded an alarm, those of the Convent of the Gangia answered them ; the Revolution had become irrevocable. Small bands were forming themselves here and there. They had neither rules, orders, nor plans ; they did not barricade the streets ; they did not make trenches, as is usual in other cities ; they did not make headway in any one position ; troops of children preceded them, dancing and singing ; they drew near to the troops, watched their motions and acts, and returned to warn the insurgents even while the blood was dropping from the blows they had received. One band of the insurgents put to flight a military patrol in the street of the Albergava ; others had the same fortune in the Raffadale street, at the church of San Gaetano, near the gate of St Antonio, in the street of Calderari, and in other places. Thus passed the whole day ; two of the insurgents, among

whom was L'Amodei, were dead, and ten soldiers ; the wounded were more numerous. The insurgents withdrew within the Piazza of Fiera Vecchia, which since the morning had been the centre of the movements and the seat of a committee formed of the first insurgents. There were not more than fifty who had firearms ; a company of infantry would have been sufficient to disperse them ; but the soldiers remained immovable in the positions which they had taken up, because, remembering the year '20, they had determined not to advance into the populous quarters of the city. To this it is necessary to add that all the houses were lighted for the festival, and that the balconies of the windows were crowded with men, women, and children, who all clapped their hands and gave loud Vivas to Italy, the Sicilian Constitution, and Pio Nono ; a spontaneous, unexpected and universal agreement of the people which made the rulers lose their heads and the soldiers their hearts. In the night the insurgents were recruited from the country districts and the neighbouring communes. The first to arrive were sixty countrymen from Villabate ; then others from Misilmeri and from other places. By the next day Fiera Vecchia contained about 300 men armed with guns, and as many more armed with scythes, billhooks, knives, spits, and those iron tools which the popular fury changes into arms. The fortress of Castellamare bombarded the city ; the artillery of the royal palace was dragged along the Cassero ; but the insurgents attacked, stormed and destroyed the police commissariats and made themselves masters of the military hospital of San Francesco Saverio ; the soldiers who remained prisoners were embraced as brothers, and provided with every accommodation which they needed.

GIUSEPPE LA FARINA

16. ROME DURING THE REPUBLIC

The first impression which most of us experienced on entering Rome was that of indefinable melancholy. Our own sad experience had rendered us but too much alive to the first symptoms of dissolution in a government or in a city, and in Rome we recognised with grief the very same aspect which Milan had presented during the latter few months of its liberty. We seemed to observe the very same overweening regard to trivial matters, whilst those of vital importance were neglected. There was the same super-

abundance of standards, of cockades, of badges of party, the same clanking of swords along the public streets, and those various and varied uniforms of officers, not one matching with the other, but all seeming fitter for the embellishment of the stage than for military service ; those epaulettes thrown, as it were, by chance on the shoulders of individuals, whose very faces seemed to declare their unfitness to wear them ; whilst, in addition to those things, the applause of an unwarlike population, echoing from the windows and from the coffee-houses, seemed to us to indicate but too clearly that we had arrived only in time to be present at the last scene of some absurd comedy. Accustomed for some time past to judge of these matters with the eyes of regular troops, all this array of warriors with glittering helmets, with double-barelled guns and with belts armed with daggers, reconciled us but little to the scanty numbers of real, well-drilled soldiers.

In the evening, when, fatigued by our long march, we gladly answered to our names, in hopes of taking some repose, the drums beat all of a sudden to arms, and the whole city was in movement to resist the approach of the French. Whoever could have had a glimpse of Rome that night would not have recognised the city which he had seen in the morning, and we rejoiced in having reason to change the opinion which had so depressed us on our first arrival.

In all the streets in the neighbourhood of Porta Angelica and Porta Cavalleggieri were bivouacked small but admirable regiments of the line, two magnificent battalions of carabineers, with four or five parks of field artillery ; two regiments of cavalry were stationed in Piazza Navona ; numerous bodies of volunteers kept watch on the walls ; and the whole of the National Guard were all in perfect order at their respective quarters. Then, as might be expected, the fantastic costumes were lost sight of, and every one who wore the national colours grasped in his hand the weapon which was to defend them. We passed the night in the great square of St Peter's enchanted with the spectacle, and with finding ourselves in the midst of soldiers and of a confiding and resolute population. We then saw that Rome was capable of offering a noble resistance, and we thanked Heaven that, in the midst of the shame and calamities of Italy, a field had been opened to us, in which we might show that our hard fate had been unmerited.

EMILIO DANDALO

17. GARIBALDI'S ARMY

We encamped on the magnificent site of the villa of Hadrian, and the numerous fires which glistened among the ruins, and lighted up their subterraneous caverns, produced a strange and picturesque effect. The singular aspect of the camp seemed in unison with the wildness of the scene. Garibaldi and his staff were dressed in scarlet blouses, with hats of every possible form, without distinctions of any kind, or any pretension to military ornament. They rode on American saddles, and seemed to pride themselves on their contempt for all the observances most strictly enjoined on regular troops. Followed by their orderlies (almost all of whom had come from America) they might be seen hurrying to and fro, now dispersing, then again collecting, active, rapid, and indefatigable in their movements. When the troops halted to encamp, or to take some repose, while the soldiers piled their arms, we used to be surprised to see officers, the General himself included, leap down from their horses, and attend to the wants of their own steeds. When these operations were concluded, they opened their saddles, which were made so as to be unrolled, and to form a small kind of tent, and their personal arrangements were then completed. If they failed in procuring provisions from the neighbouring villages, three or four colonels and majors threw themselves on the bare backs of their horses, and, armed with long lassoos, set off at full speed through the Campagna in search of sheep or oxen; when they had collected a sufficient quantity they returned, driving their ill-gotten flocks before them; a certain portion was divided among each company, and then all, indiscriminately—officers and men—fell to, killing, cutting up, and roasting at enormous fires quarters of oxen, besides kids and young pigs, to say nothing of booty of a smaller kind, such as poultry and geese.

Garibaldi in the meanwhile, if the encampment was far from the scene of danger, lay stretched out under his tent. If, on the contrary, the enemy was at hand, he remained constantly on horseback, giving orders and visiting the outposts; often, disguised as a peasant, he risked his own safety in daring reconnaissances, but most frequently, seated on some commanding elevation, he passed whole hours examining the environs with the aid of a telescope. When

the General's trumpet gave the signal to prepare for departure, the lassoos served to catch the horses which had been left to graze at liberty in the meadows. The order of march was always arranged on the preceding day, and the corps set out without any one ever knowing where they might arrive the day after. Owing to this patriarchal simplicity—pushed, perhaps, somewhat too far—Garibaldi appeared more like the chief of a tribe of Indians than a General; but at the approach of danger, and in the heat of combat, his presence of mind and courage were admirable; and then by the astonishing rapidity of his movements he made up, in a great measure, for his deficiency in those qualities which are generally supposed to be absolutely essential in a good General.

EMILIO DANDALO

18. GARIBALDI'S RETREAT FROM ROME

On the evening of 2nd July he left Rome with four thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. His wife Anita, a young Brazilian whom he loved dearly, was with him. She had already given him three children, and was bearing the fourth. But none the less she bravely kept her place by his side. Ciceruacchio acted as their guide.

Burdened by baggage and munitions, pursued by three columns of French troops, surrounded by the Neapolitans in the south and by Austrians in the Legations and in Tuscany, Garibaldi managed to slip between them by dividing his forces in order to hide them, and by making some surprising forced marches. Hemmed in more closely from day to day, he finally had no refuge left but the little republic of San Marino. He reached it by unfrequented and precipitous paths, through dense forests and angry torrents. There, on the 30th July, he released from their allegiance all those whom such fruitless fatigues had discouraged. The magistrates of San Marino, anxious to avoid drawing down the wrath of Austria upon their poor little country, would have negotiated the surrender of the remainder of the force. "Surrender! nay, rather die! On to Venice! to Venice!" cried the heroic remnant. At this, Garibaldi gave a start, raised his head high, and cried: "To those who will follow me I will offer fresh sufferings, great dangers, perhaps death itself, but treaty with the foreigners, never!" Then, mounting his horse,

he set off, followed by his wife and the three hundred who had thrown in their fortunes with his.

The Austrians were kept busy taking the men who had given up their arms, sending those who were Lombards to the prisons of Mantua, and setting the Romans free after giving them thirty lashes apiece. This gave Garibaldi his chance to escape and continue his adventurous course. At Cesenatico, on 2nd August, he requisitioned thirteen fishing vessels and set sail for Venice, which was still holding out. He was already in sight of the lagoons when Austrian ships discovered his fleet and gave chase. The wind suddenly changed against him and prevented flight. He tried to keep his boats together and break through the enemy, but the Austrians succeeded in dividing them and captured eight. With the others, he managed to escape by sheer audacity, and once more landed on 3rd August on the coast of the Roman state. With him were his wife and children, Ciceruacchio and his family and two or three other companions, the Lombard officer Livraghi, and the Barnabite Ugo Bassi.

For two days he went forward by land, everywhere received and hidden, in spite of the Austrian threats of death to whomever should give him shelter. His wife, worn out, succumbed to such hardships. Sorrowfully he left her poor body and continued his march, wearing his mourning inwardly ; he passed to Ravenna, Tuscany, Genoa, Tunis and thence to America.

F. T. PERRENS

(iii) *Germany*

19. DEMOCRATIC INACTION (i)

Things look gloomy, my honoured lady ; Liberty hides her head, and I am drawn homewards to the West of America, to the home for which I have yearned for fourteen years. That the privileged betrayers of the people in Frankfort have manufactured a provisional Kaiser, of the race which has only produced . . . an irresponsible Kaiser, not bound by the resolutions of the Assembly ; that they have given us a revival of what was said and done at the Congress of Vienna, the whole of the 1813-15 farce of acting and lies ; all this is known to you. But that the republicans have been defeated at the elections in Austria and Hungary ;

that the heroes of the Vienna barricades, that the whole crowd of Simple Simons hailed the Regent with loud hurrahs (Corruption, Corruption!) ; that though our fire-spitting "manifestos" and "Addresses to the German Nation" were applauded with jubilation, men's hands fell listlessly to their sides ; that in a word the spirit of the people is willing but the flesh continually weaker ; all that pierces us to the heart you do not know ; and it is well that you do not know it. For any one who is not the dupe of his own enthusiasm, or a short-sighted fool, can clearly see that Germany is on the highway to become monarchical, not thirty-four times but thirty-five times. Unhappy nation, poor fatherland ! If a shock does not come from without, if red breeches do not cross the Rhine, the nation will not rise. A great period has swept over a diminutive generation, and the spirit of the age shakes angrily its pinions and turns away its face from a despicable race.

HECKER TO FRAU HERWEGH

20. DEMOCRATIC INACTION (ii)

Germany exhibits the most interesting and the most remarkable of spectacles ; not a sham-fight, (but) a battle between shadows that take themselves for realities and yet feel every moment their utter feebleness, and involuntarily show it. The official reaction and the official revolution compete in futility and stupidity, and you have, as well, all the hollow philosophic-religious-political-poetical-comfortable-ponderous phrases which, after haunting our German brains for so long, now come to light. The collapse of Austria is for us Slavs, and indeed for the whole revolutionary party, a vital concern.

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

21. A PHILOSOPHER IN FRANKFURT

But what experiences we've had ! Just think, barricades on the bridge and the ruffians standing right up against my house, aiming and shooting at the soldiers in the Fahrgasse, whose return volleys shook the house : suddenly voices and a great row at the closed door of my room : I, thinking it is the sovereign mob, jam the door with the bar ; then come alarming blows against it : finally the clear voice of my maid, "It is only some Austrians". I opened at once to these worthy friends : twenty thorough Bohemians in

blue trousers came tumbling in, to fire from my windows on the sovereign people : soon, however, they bethink themselves 'twill go better from next door. From the first floor the officer reconnoitres the mob behind the barricade ; at once I send him the large pair of opera glasses with which you once saw the balloon.

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER

22. SCENES IN DRESDEN

I was on my way home, deep in conversation, when, just as we reached the Postplatz, near the fountain erected from Semper's design, the clang of bells from the neighbouring tower of St Ann's Church suddenly sounded the tocsin of revolt.

The clang of this bell, so close at hand, made a profound impression on me also. It was a very sunny afternoon, and I at once noticed the same phenomenon which Goethe describes in his attempt to depict his own sensations during the bombardment of Valmy. The whole square looked as though it were illuminated by a dark yellow, almost brown, light, such as I had once before seen in Magdeburg during an eclipse of the sun. My most pronounced sensation beyond this was one of great, almost extravagant satisfaction. I felt a sudden strange longing to play with something hitherto regarded as dangerous and important. . . .

On Thursday, 4th May, I could see that the Town Hall was gradually becoming the undoubted centre of the revolution. That section of the people who had hoped for a peaceful understanding with the monarch was thrown into the utmost consternation by the news that the King and his whole court, acting on the advice of his minister Beust, had left the palace, and had gone by ship down the Elbe to the fortress of Königstein. . . . At the same moment news arrived from all sides that, in accordance with a previous compact, the King of Prussia's troops would advance to occupy Dresden. A general outcry immediately arose for measures to be adopted to prevent this incursion of foreign troops. . . .

The Old Town of Dresden, with its barricades, was an interesting enough sight for the spectators. I looked on with amazement and disgust, but my attention was suddenly distracted by seeing Bakunin emerge from his hiding-place and wander along the barricades in a black frockcoat. But

I was very much mistaken in thinking he would be pleased with what he saw ; he recognised the childish inefficiency of all the measures that had been taken for defence, and declared that the only satisfaction he could feel in the state of affairs was that he need not trouble about the police, as he found no inducement to take part in an insurrection conducted in such a slovenly fashion.



Early on Saturday, 6th May, it was obvious that the situation was becoming very serious. Prussian troops had marched into the New Town, and the Saxon troops, which it had not been considered advisable to use for an attack, were kept loyal to the flag. The truce expired at noon, and the troops, supported by several guns, at once opened the attack on one of the principal positions held by the people in the Neumarkt. . . .

It was irritating to me, while I heard the sharp rattle of fire, to be unable to gather anything of what was going on, and I thought by climbing the Kreuz tower I might get a good view. Even from this elevation I could not see anything clearly, but I gathered enough to satisfy myself that after an hour of heavy firing the advance artillery of the Prussian troops had retired, and had at last been completely silenced, their withdrawal being signalled by a shout of jubilation from the populace. Apparently the first attack had exhausted itself ; and now my interest in what was going on began to assume a more and more vivid hue. To obtain information in greater detail I hurried back to the Town Hall. I could extract nothing, however, from the boundless confusion which I met, until at last I came upon Bakunin in the midst of the main group of speakers. He was able to give me an extraordinarily accurate account of what had happened. Information had reached headquarters from a barricade in the Neumarkt where the attack was most serious, that everything had been in a state of confusion there before the onslaught of the troops ; thereupon my friend Marschall von Bieberstein, together with Leo von Zichlinsky, who were officers in the citizen corps, had called up some volunteers and conducted them to the place of danger. Kreis-Amtmann Heubner of Freiberg, without a weapon to defend himself, and with bared head, jumped immediately on to the top of the barricade, which had just been abandoned by all

its defenders. He was the sole member of the provisional government to remain on the spot, the leaders, Todt and Tschirner, having disappeared at the first sign of panic. Heubner turned round to exhort the volunteers to advance, addressing them in stirring words. His success was complete, the barricade was taken again, and a fire, as unexpected as it was fierce, was directed upon the troops, which, as I myself saw, were forced to retire. Bakunin had been in close touch with his action, he had followed the volunteers, and he now explained to me that however narrow might be the political views of Heubner . . . he was a man of noble character, at whose service he had immediately placed his own life. . . .



Sunday (the 7th of May) was one of the most beautiful days in the year. I was awakened by the song of a nightingale, which rose to our ears from the Schutze garden close by. A sacred calm and peacefulness lay over the town and the wide suburbs of Dresden, which were visible from my point of vantage. Towards sunrise a mist settled upon the outskirts, and suddenly through its folds we could hear the music of the *Marseillaise* making its way clearly and distinctly from the district of the Tharanderstrasse. As the sound drew nearer and nearer, the mist dispersed, and the glow of the rising sun spread a glittering light upon the weapons of a long column which was winding its way towards the town. . . . [The miners from the Erzgebirge.] Soon we saw them march up the Altmarkt opposite the Town Hall. . . . Reinforcements continued to pour in the whole day long, and the heroic achievement of the previous day now received its reward in the shape of a universal elevation of spirits.

RICHARD WAGNER

II

DOCUMENTS OF 1848-9

(i) *France*

23. FIRST PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Paris, 24th February

PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

A retrograde and oligarchical government has just been overthrown by the heroism of the people of Paris. This government has fled, leaving behind it a taint of blood which forbids it ever to return.

The blood of the people has flowed as in July ; but this time such generous blood will not be betrayed. It has gained a national and popular government in touch with the rights, progress and will of this great and generous people. A provisional government arising out of acclamation and urgency by the voice of the people and the deputies of the departments in the sitting of the 24th February is invested immediately with the trust of assuring and organising the national victory.

It is composed of

M. Dupont (de l'Eure)
M. Lamartine
M. Crémieux
M. Arago (de l'Institut)
M. Ledru-Rollin
M. Garnier-Pagès
M. Marie

This government has for secretaries,

M. Armand Marrast
M. Louis Blanc
M. Ferdinand Flocon and
M. Albert.

These citizens did not hesitate for a moment to accept the patriotic mission which was imposed on them by urgency.

When the capital of France is on fire, the mandate of the provisional government is in the public salutation. All France will understand it and will lend to it the support of its patriotism. Under the popular government which proclaims the provisional government every citizen is a magistrate.

Frenchmen, give the world the example which Paris has given France ; prepare by order and confidence in yourselves for the strong institutions which you are about to be called on to give yourselves. The provisional government desires the republic, subject to ratification by the people, who will immediately be consulted.

The unity of the nation formed henceforward of all the classes of citizens who compose it ; the democratic government which France owes herself and which our efforts will be able to assure her.

DUPONT (de l'Eure)

LAMARTINE

CRÉMIEUX

LEDRU-ROLLIN

GARNIER-PAGÈS

LOUIS BLANC

ARMAND MARRAST } *Secretaries*

24. LAMARTINE'S "MANIFESTO TO EUROPE"

CIRCULAR OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE DIPLOMATIC AGENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Sir, you are aware of the events in Paris, the victory of the people, its heroism, its moderation, its appeasement, the order re-established by the agreement of all citizens, as if, in that interregnum of visible powers, general reason were herself the sole government of France.

The French Revolution is thus just entering on its definite period. France is a Republic : the French Republic has no need to be recognised in order to exist. It is, by natural right, by national right. It is the will of a great people that demands its title only from itself. Nevertheless, the French Republic wishing to enter into the family of instituted governments, as a regular power and not as a phenomenon disturbing to European order, it is desirable that you should make known promptly to the government to which you are accredited the principles and the tendencies which will

henceforward direct the external policy of the French government.

The proclamation of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government in the world. Forms of government have diversities as legitimate as the diversities of character, of geographical situation and of intellectual, moral and material development among peoples. Nations have, like individuals, different ages. The principles which rule them have successive phases. Monarchical, aristocratic, constitutional, republican governments are the expression of these different degrees of maturity of the genius of peoples. They demand more liberty as they feel better capable of supporting it ; they demand more equality and democracy as they are more inspired by justice and love of the people. It is a question of time. A people is lost if it delays the hour of that maturity, as it is dishonoured in allowing it to escape without seizing it. Monarchy and Republic are not, in the eyes of true statesmen, absolute principles which fight to the death ; they are facts in contrast to each other, and which can live face to face, understanding and respecting each other.

War, then, is not the principle of the Republic as it became its fatal and glorious necessity in 1792. Between 1792 and 1848, half a century has passed. To return, after half a century, would not be to advance, it would be to go back in time. The revolution of yesterday is a step forward, not backward. We wish the world and ourselves to march to brotherhood and peace.

If the situation of the French Republic, in 1792, explained the war, the differences which exist between that epoch of our history and the epoch in which we live explain the peace. Apply yourselves to understanding these differences and making them understood around you.

In 1792, the nation was not one. Two peoples existed on the same soil. A terrible struggle was carried on between the classes dispossessed of their privileges and the classes which had just conquered equality and liberty. The dispossessed classes united with captive royalty and with the jealous foreigner to deny France its revolution, and to reimpose on it by invasion the Monarchy, the aristocracy and the theocracy. Today there are no more distinct and unequal classes. Liberty has set all free. Equality before the law has levelled all. Brotherhood, whose appli-

cation we proclaim and whose benefits the National Assembly must organise, will unite all. There is no longer a single citizen in France, no matter what opinion he holds, who does not rally to the principle of the fatherland before everything, and who does not make it, by that very unity, impregnable against attempts and threats of invasion.

In 1792, it was not the entire people which had entered into possession of its government : it was the middle class alone that wished to exercise liberty and enjoy it. Thus the triumph of the middle class was egotistical, like the triumph of all oligarchies. It wished to keep for itself alone the rights conquered by all. For that it was forced to make a strong diversion to the advance of the people, in throwing them into the field of battle, so as to hinder them from entering into their own government. That diversion was war. The war was the idea of the monarchists and the Girondins ; it was not the idea of the more advanced democrats, who wished, like us, the sincere, complete and regular reign of the people themselves, including in this name all classes, without exclusion or preference, of which the nation is composed.

In 1792, the people was only the instrument of the revolution, it was not its object. Today the revolution is made by it and for it. It is the revolution itself. In entering, it brings new needs for work, for industry, for instruction, for agriculture, for commerce, for morality, for well-being, for property, for cheap living, for navigation, finally for civilisation, which are all the needs of peace ! The people and peace are synonymous !

In 1792, the ideas of France and of Europe were not prepared to understand and to accept the great harmony of nations between themselves, for the benefit of mankind. The thought of the century which was drawing to its end was only in the heads of a few philosophers. Philosophy is popular today. Fifty years of liberty to think, to speak and to write, have produced their result. Books, newspapers, platforms, have acted as the apostles of European intelligence. Reason, spreading everywhere, across the frontiers of the peoples, has created among men's minds that great intellectual nationality which will be the achievement of the French Revolution and the constitution of international brotherhood all over the world.

Finally, in 1792, liberty was a novelty, equality was a

scandal, the Republic was a problem. The right of peoples, hardly discovered by Fénelon, Montesquieu, Rousseau, was so forgotten, buried and profaned by the old feudal, dynastic and sacerdotal traditions, that the most legitimate intervention of the people in its own affairs appeared a monstrosity to the statesmen of the old school. Democracy caused both thrones and the foundations of society to tremble. Today thrones and peoples are used to the word, to the forms, to the regular agitations of liberty exercised in various proportions in almost all states, even monarchies. They are used to the Republic, which is its complete form among the most mature nations. They recognise that there is a conservative liberty ; they recognise that there can be in the Republic, not only a better order, but that there can be a truer order in this government of all for all, than in the government of some for some.

But outside these disinterested considerations, the sole interest of the consolidation and the continuance of the republic will inspire the statesmen of France with thoughts of peace. It is not the fatherland which runs the greatest dangers in war, it is freedom. War is almost always a dictatorship. Soldiers forget institutions for men. Thrones tempt the ambitious. Glory blots out patriotism. The prestige of a victorious name disguises the attempt against the national sovereignty. Undoubtedly the Republic wants glory, but it wants it for itself, not for Cæsars or Napoleons !

Nevertheless, do not be deceived by this ; these ideas which the Provisional Government charges you to present to the powers as a pledge of European security, have not for their object to relieve the Republic of the audacity to which it had to give birth ; even less to demand humbly the place of a great right and a great people in Europe ; they have a nobler object ; to make sovereigns and peoples reflect, not to allow them to be deceived involuntarily as to the character of our revolution ; to give their right time and just features to the event, finally to give pledges to humanity, before giving them to our rights and our honour should they be menaced.

The French Republic, then, intends war against nobody. It does not need to say that it will accept it, if the conditions of war are imposed on the French people. The thought of the men who govern at this moment in France is this : France will be happy if war is declared on her, and if she

is forced thus to grow in strength and in glory, in spite of her moderation ! But it is a terrible responsibility to France if the Republic itself declares war without being provoked to it ! In the first case, her martial genius, her impatience for action, her strength accumulated during so many years of peace, will make her invincible at home, perhaps formidable beyond her frontiers. In the second case, she would turn against herself the memories of her conquests, which disaffect the nationalities, and she will compromise her first and most universal alliance : the spirit of the peoples and the genius of civilisation.

According to these principles, sir, which are the principles of a calm France, principles which she can present without fear as well as without defiance to her friends and her enemies, be so good as to make known the following declarations :

The treaties of 1815 no longer rightly exist in the eyes of the French Republic ; nevertheless, the territorial limitations of these treaties are a fact which she admits as a basis and as a point of departure in her relationships with other nations.

But, if the treaties of 1815 no longer exist except as a fact to be modified by common agreement, and if the Republic declares proudly that her right and mission are to arrive regularly and peacefully at these modifications, the good sense, the moderation, the conscience, the prudence of the Republic exist and are for Europe a better and more honourable guarantee than the letters of these treaties so often violated or modified.

Apply yourself, sir, to make understood and admitted in good faith that emancipation of the Republic from the treaties of 1815, and to show that such a liberation is in no way irreconcilable with the peace of Europe.

Thus, we say with pride, if the hour for the reconstruction of certain oppressed nationalities in Europe, or elsewhere, appears to have struck in the decrees of Providence ; if Switzerland, our faithful ally since Francis I, were constrained or menaced for the movement of belief which is in operation, adding new strength to the democratic governments ; if the independent states of Italy were invaded ; if limits or obstacles were imposed on their internal transformations ; if, with an armed hand, their right to ally between themselves in order to consolidate an Italian fatherland were contested, the French republic would consider itself justified in arming

to protect these legitimate movements of faith and nationality among the peoples.

The Republic, you will see, has passed beyond the first stage of proscriptions and dictatorships. She has decided never to violate liberty at home. She has decided equally never to depart from democratic principles abroad. She will allow no-one to put his hand between the peaceful glow of her liberty and the eyes of the peoples. She proclaims herself the intellectual and cordial ally of all rights, of all progress, of all the legitimate developments of the institutions of nations which desire to live according to the same principle as herself. She will make no secret or incendiary propaganda among her neighbours. She knows that there are no durable liberties other than those which are born of themselves on their own soil. But she will exercise, by the light of her ideas, by the spectacle of order and peace which she hopes to give to the world, the only honest proselytism, the proselytism of esteem and sympathy. There is nothing in this of war ; it is nature. There is nothing in this of agitation in Europe ; it is life. There is nothing in this of setting fire to the world ; it is to shine from its place on the horizon of the peoples so as to precede and guide them at the same time.

We desire, for humanity, that peace should be maintained. We hope it as well. A question of war was raised, a year ago, between France and England. That question of war was not raised by the French Republic, but by the dynasty. The dynasty takes with it that danger of war which it had raised up in Europe by the wholly personal ambition of its family alliances in Spain. Thus that domestic policy of the fallen dynasty, which weighed for seventeen years on our national dignity, weighed at the same time, by its pretensions to a further crown in Madrid, on our liberal alliances and on peace. The Republic has no ambition ; the Republic has no nepotism. Let Spain govern herself ; let Spain be independent and free. France, for the solidity of that natural alliance, counts more on conformity of principles than on the successions of the house of Bourbon !

This is, sir, the spirit of the councils of the Republic ; this will invariably be the character of the free, strong and moderate policy which you will be asked to represent.

The Republic has pronounced at its birth, and in the midst of the heat of a struggle not provoked by the people,

three words which have revealed its spirit and which will call down on its cradle the blessings of God and of men : *Liberty, equality, brotherhood*. It gave, the next day, by the abolition of the penalty of death in political matters, the true commentary on its three words at home ; give them also their true commentary abroad. The meaning of these three words applied to our external relations is this : the liberation of France from the chains which weighed on its principles and on its dignity ; the recovery of the status which she should occupy on a level with the great European powers ; finally, the declaration of alliance and friendship towards all the peoples. If France has the consciousness of her part as a liberal and civilising mission in the century, there is not one of these words which signifies *war*. If Europe is prudent and just, there is not one of these words which does not signify *peace*.

25. PLACARD ISSUED BY BLANQUI ON THE RED FLAG, FEBRUARY, 1848

TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The republican combatants have read with sorrow the proclamation that re-established the Gallic Cock and the tricolour as the National Emblems.

The tricolour, inaugurated by Louis XVI, was made illustrious by the First Republic, and the Empire. It was dishonoured by Louis-Philippe.

We are living, however, neither in the Empire nor the First Republic.

The people planted the Red Flag on the barricades of 1848. Let none seek to slander it.

The Flag was reddened with the blood of the People and the National Guard.

It flies gleaming over Paris and there it must remain. The victorious people will not lower their Flag !

26. PLACARD ISSUED BY CABET, THE UTOPIAN
SOCIALIST, FEBRUARY 25th, 1848

Let us rally round the Provisional Government presided over by Dupont de l'Eure, which replaces the odious government so recently stained with the blood of citizens.

Let us support this Provisional Government, which declares itself republican and democratic : which adopts fraternity, equality, and liberty for its principles, and the People for its device and watchword : and which dissolves the Chambers to convoke the National Assembly, whose office it will be to give France the constitution she demands.

But let us ourselves take care constantly to insist upon the consequences of these principles.

Let us demand that all Frenchmen be declared Brethren ; equal in duties and in rights without any kind of privilege : all members of the National Guard : all electors and eligible to all the public functions, without any vile pecuniary conditions.

Let us demand the natural and imprescriptible right of association, of meeting, and of discussion : individual liberty without the arbitrary control of any man : the liberty of the press without hindrance, without caution-money, or stamp.

Let us especially demand the guarantee of all the rights and all the interests of working men : the formal recognition of the right to live working, so that the father of a family shall no more be reduced to the terrible necessity of abandoning his wife and his children to go and die fighting.

Let us demand the organisation of labour, and the assurance of a fair livelihood by fair work.

Let us demand the suppression of all taxes on objects of primary necessity.

Let us demand the abolition of those humiliating, vexatious, and iniquitous contrivances—the Customs and the *Octroi*.

Let us demand for the people a system of education, gratuitous, common to all, real and complete.

Let us demand institutions and guarantees for the happiness of wives and children, so that every man may have a chance of marrying with a prospect of being able to rear up his family in happiness and comfort.

Faithful to our principles of fraternity, humanity and moderation, let us always proclaim, and in all places—no

vengeance ! no disorder ! no violence ! no oppression towards any person ! but firmness, vigilance, and prudence, that we may obtain justice for all !

No attack upon property, but unshaken perseverance in requiring all measures consistent with justice for the suppression of pauperism, and especially, as one of these, the democratic policy of gradually abating inequality.

Let us beware of demanding the immediate application of our communist doctrines. We have never ceased to affirm that we desire their triumph through discussion only, through conviction, through the power of public opinion, by individual consent, and by the national will.

CABET

27. PROCLAMATION ON CLUBS, APRIL 20th, 1848 Citizens !

The Republic lives by liberty and discussion, and Clubs are for the Republic a need, for the citizens a right.

Also the Provisional Government is happy to see at various points in the capital the citizens assembling to confer together on the highest questions of policy, on the necessity for giving to the Republic an energetic, vigorous and fertile impulse.

The Provisional Government protects the Clubs.

But, in order that their liberty, in order that the revolution should not be halted in its glorious march, let us beware, citizens, of all that may maintain in opinion serious and permanent causes of disquiet ; let us remember that these disquietudes serve as food for counter-revolutionary calumnies and as arms for the spirit of reaction, let us then consider measures which, while protecting public security, will cut short dangerous rumours and calumnious alarms. If free discussion is a right and a duty, armed discussion is a danger, and can become an oppression. If the liberty of the Clubs is one of the most inviolable conquests of the revolution, Clubs which deliberate in arms can compromise liberty itself, excite the struggle of passions and provoke civil war.

Citizens, the Provisional Government, faithful to its principle, desires security in the independence of opinions. It has already taken the necessary measures to protect it ; it cannot wish that arms should be mingled with deliberations.

Our Republic is union, it is fraternity, and these sentiments exclude all thoughts of violence.

The best safe-guard of liberty is liberty.

The members of the Provisional Government :—

DUPONT (*de l'Eure*), ARMAND MARRAST, GARNIER-PAGÈS, ARAGO, ALBERT, MARIE, CRÉMIEUX, LOUIS BLANC, LEDRU-ROLLIN, FLOCON, LAMARTINE.

28. PROCLAMATION OF JOINT DELEGATIONS OF THE LUXEMBOURG COMMISSION AND THE NATIONAL WORKSHOPS, JUNE, 1848

Working Men !

We, delegates of the workmen at the Luxembourg ; we, delegates of the National Workshops ; devoted as we are body and soul to the Republic, for which, like all of you, we have fought : we pray you in the name of that liberty so dearly bought, in the name of the country regenerated by you, in the names of Fraternity and Equality, neither by word nor act to lend countenance to anarchical cries ; nor to lend your arms and your hearts to encourage the partisans of the throne which you lately burnt. These unprincipled men would inevitably bring anarchy into the midst of the country, which has need only of liberty and labour.

No one henceforth can be suffered to claim any other title than the noblest of all, that of citizen.

No one must resist the true sovereign, the people.

To attempt it, would be an execrable crime, and whoever should dare it, would be a traitor to Heaven and to his country.

The re-action is at work and in movement ; its numerous emissaries will entice you, Brothers, with unrealisable and senseless dreams ; it is sowing gold broadcast : beware ! Brothers, beware ! wait yet a few days with that calmness which you have already shown, and which is your true strength.

Hope ! for the time is come, the future is ours : do not encourage by your presence manifestations which are only popular in name : have nothing to do with those follies of another time.

Believe us : listen to us : nothing is possible now in France but the Democratic and Social Republic.

The history of the last reign is a terrible one ; let us not continue it. No more Emperors, nor Kings. Nothing but Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Vive la République !

PIERRE VINCARD, *Président des Délégués du Luxembourg*

AUGUSTE BLUM, *Vice-Président*

JULLIEN, *Trésorier*

LEFAURE, *Sécrétaire*

BACON, *Président des Délégués des Ateliers Nationaux*

EUGENE GARLIN, *Sécrétaire*

PETIT-BONNAUD, *Lieutenant*

ARDILLON, *Lieutenant*

(ii) *Germany*

29. GUSTAV STRUVE'S MANIFESTO ON THE
BADEN RISING, SEPTEMBER, 1848

CALL TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE !

The fight of the People with their oppressors has begun. Even in the streets of Frankfurt-on-Main, the seat of the powerless Central Authority and the garrulous constituent Assembly, have shots been fired on the People. Only the sword can still save The German People. If the reaction wins the day in Frankfurt, Germany will be sucked dry and enslaved, in the course of so-called law and order, far more frightfully than could happen in the bloodiest of wars. To arms, men of Germany ! Only the Republic can guide us to the goal for which we are striving. Hail to the German Republic !

In the name of the Provisional Government :

GUSTAV STRUVE

Commanding Officer, Headquarters :

M. W. LOWENFELS

Secretary : CARL BLIND

Lorrach, 21st September, 1848

(iii) *Italy*

30. MANIFESTO TO EUROPE BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF MILAN AFTER EXPULSION OF AUSTRIANS, MARCH, 1848

The Austrian government levied immoderate taxes on our property, on our persons, and on necessary articles ; it extorted from us the means by which alone it was saved from that bankruptcy, to the brink of which it was brought by its bad and dishonestly administered financial system ; it forced on us shoals of foreigners, avowed functionaries and secret spies, eating our substance, administering our affairs, judging our rights, without knowing either our language or our customs ; it imposed on us foreign laws, inextricable from their multiplicity, and an intricate endless system of proceeding in criminal cases, in which there was nothing either true or solemn except the prison and the pillory, the executioner and the gallows ; it spread round us ensnaring nets of civil and ecclesiastical, military and judicial regulations, all converging on Vienna, which alone engrossed the monopoly of thought, of will, and of judgment ; it forbade the development of our commerce and our industry, to favour the interests of other provinces, and of government manufactures, the speculations of Viennese oligarchs ; it submitted our municipal institutions, the boast of our country and the proof of national good sense, to a petty, harassing control, conceived for fiscal purposes, and tending only to fetter us ; it enslaved religion, and even public benevolence of its free course, making it subject to administrative interference, and turning it to an engine of government. It was after endless difficulties, and only after having recourse to the lowest precautions, that private individuals were permitted to help the public wants, and preserve from contagion and corruption the poor abandoned to themselves in the streets, in their hovels, or in prison. It seized the property of minors, by forcing guardians to invest it in public securities, which were to be dealt with arbitrarily and mysteriously by secret agents of the government ; it subjected the liberal arts to the most vexatious restraints ; it persecuted native knowledge ; it raised the most ridiculous objections and the most odious difficulties against printing or importing foreign books ; it persecuted and entrapped our most distinguished men, and raised to honour slavish

understandings ; it systematised the sale of conscience, and organised an army of spies ; it encouraged secret informations, and made suspicions the rule of its proceedings ; it gave the police full power over liberty, life and property, and threw the patriot into the same prison as the assassin. . . .

31. MANIFESTO TO THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS BY THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC, MARCH, 1848

A part of the old Venetian states has constituted itself a republic. In communicating to you this fact we do not feel ourselves called upon to justify or explain it. Upon history will devolve this task. We shall enhance the glory of our triumph by moderation in our language and in our actions. God has made our victory easy, and that facility must inspire us with a still deeper feeling of duty ; we shall meet all apprehensions of danger by respect for existing rights, and stamp with sacredness our revolution. We expect that our new Constitution, which sooner or later will unite all the people of the world, will strengthen our ties, enlarge our increasing commercial relations, and make the peace of the word more and more necessary and honourable.

32. MAZZINI'S SPEECH TO THE ROMAN ASSEMBLY, MARCH 6th, 1849

All that I have not done, but striven to do, has come to me from Rome. Rome was ever a sort of talisman to me ; when still a lad, I used to study the history of Rome and I found that whereas in all the other histories all nations were born, grew, played a part in the world, and fell never to reappear in their first vigour, one city alone was privileged by God with the power of dying and of reviving greater than before, to fulfil in the world a mission greater than the first she had fulfilled. I saw the Rome of the Emperors rise first, and by conquest extend from the confines of Africa to the confines of Asia ; I saw Rome perish, blotted out by the Barbarians, by those who, today, also, the world calls Barbarians ; I saw Rome rise again, after having driven out those very Barbarians, revivifying from her sepulchre the seed of civilisation ; and I saw her rise grander to move by the victory, not of arms, but of words, rise in the name of the Popes, to repeat her great mission. I said in my heart :

“ It is impossible that a city which alone in the world has had two great lives, one greater than the other, should not have a third. After the Rome which worked by the victory of arms, after the Rome which worked by the victory of words”, I said to myself, “ there will come the Rome which shall work by the virtue of example : after the Rome of the Emperors, after the Rome of the Popes, there shall come the Rome of the People”. The Rome of the People has risen. I speak to you here of the Rome of the People. Do not salute me with applause, let our felicitations be mutual. I can promise you nothing from me save my co-operation in all that you shall do for the good of Italy, of Rome, and for the good of humanity. We shall have, perhaps, to traverse great crises : perhaps we shall have to fight a holy war against the only enemy that menaces us. We will fight it ; and we will win it. I hope, if God please, that foreigners may never again be able to say what many repeat even today, in speaking of our affairs, that this which comes from Rome is an *ignis fatuus*, a light that flits among the graveyards. The world shall see that this is a light as of a star, eternal, splendid, and pure, as those which sparkle in our sky.

33. PROGRAMME OF PRINCIPLES ISSUED BY ROMAN TRIUMVIRATE, APRIL 5th, 1849

Citizens—Five days have elapsed since we received our sacred mandate from the Assembly. We have carefully studied the actual condition of the Roman States, and that of Italy, our common country. We have sought to interrogate the wishes of the worthiest citizens, and the dictates of our own conscience ; and it is now time that the people should hear our voice and learn what are the general principles by which we shall be governed in the execution of the mandate imposed upon us.

To provide for the safety of the Republic ; to protect it from dangers within and without ; to cause it worthily to maintain its ground in the war of independence ; such is the task entrusted to us.

This mandate signifies in our eyes respect, not only for a form of government, for a name, but also for the *principle* represented by this name and by this form of government. This principle is for us a principle of love, of civilisation, of fraternal progress by all and for all, of moral, intellectual,

and economical improvement for the entire body of the citizens. The Republican flag, raised in Rome by the representatives of the people, does not represent the triumph of one fraction of the citizens over another. It represents the common triumph—a victory—gained by the many, acquiesced in by the immense majority—of the principle of good over the principle of evil ; of the common right over the will of a small number ; of holy equality, the gift of God to all the human species, over privilege and despotism. We cannot be republicans without being superior, and proving that we are superior, to the powers now overthrown, for ever. Liberty and virtue, the Republic and fraternity, ought to be inseparably united. It is for us to set an example to Europe. The Republic in Rome is an Italian programme ; it is a hope, a future for twenty-six millions of men, our brothers. It is bound to prove to Italy and to Europe that our cry of *God and the People* is not a lie ; that our work is eminently religious, a work of education and morality ; that the accusations of intolerance, anarchy, and violent upturning of things directed against us, are false ; that united, thanks to the Republican principle, into one family of righteous men, under the eye of God, and following the inspiration of the highest amongst us in genius and virtue, we advance towards the attainment of true order—the association of Law and Power.

It is thus we understand our mission ; and it is thus that we hope all the citizens will learn by degrees to understand it with us. We are not the Government of a Party ; we are truly the Government of the Nation. The Nation is Republican. The nation embraces all who sincerely profess its republican faith ; it pities and instructs all those who do not as yet comprehend the sacredness of that faith ; it crushes, in the omnipotence of its sovereignty, all who attempt to violate it by open revolt, or secret intrigues provocative of civil dissensions.

Neither intolerance nor weakness. The Republic is at once conciliatory and energetic. The Government is strong ; therefore it is fearless. Its task is to preserve intact the rights, and aid the free performance of the duties of all the citizens ; therefore it does not sink into the repose of vain and culpable security. The Nation has conquered—conquered for ever. Its Government ought to exhibit the serene and generous calmness, not the abuse of victory.

Inexorable as to principles ; tolerant and impartial as to persons ; equally incapable of compromise and mistrust ; neither fearing offence nor seeking to offend ; such ought a Government to be, in order to be worthy of republican institutions.

Economy in the public offices ; morality in the choice of officials ; capacity—proved by experience when possible—at the head of the administrative departments.

Severe verification, order, and control in financial matters ; limited expenditure, avoidance of all waste ; the money of the country devoted exclusively to the good of the country ; every sacrifice exacted when demanded by the necessities of the country.

No war of classes ; no hostility to existing wealth ; no wanton or unjust violation of the rights of property ; but a constant disposition to ameliorate the material condition of the classes least favoured by fortune ; a firm determination to re-establish the credit of the state, and to check every culpable egotism, either of monopoly, artifice, or passive resistance tending to dissolve or impair it.

Laws few and well-weighed ; but vigilance and firmness in their execution.

The power and discipline of the regular army held sacred to the defence of the country and to the National war for the independence and liberty of Italy.

Such are the general bases of our programme, which will be developed more or less speedily according to circumstances, but never violated by us.

Recently invested with power, surrounded by the abuses fostered by the fallen government, and impeded at every step by the effects of the inertia and hesitation of others, we shall have need of toleration from all ; need above all things that none should judge us save by our own acts. Friends to all who desire the well-being of our common country ; pure in intention if not great in intellect ; surrounded by circumstances of the gravest that ever befell a people or their government, we shall have need of the active aid of all, of the harmonious, fraternal and pacific work of all. And this we hope to have. The country ought not, it must not, go back ; it ought not, it will not, fall into anarchy. Let all good men assist us ; God, who has decreed the resurrection of Rome and the nationality of Italy, will be with us.

34. PROCLAMATION OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT ON THE DIVISION OF ESTATES, APRIL, 1849

Whereas there is no more appropriate and speedy method of rendering the labours of the agriculturist lucrative, and of benefiting a most numerous and useful class ; of strengthening their affection for their country, and interesting them in the organisation of the great reform ; of improving the soil and its cultivators at one and the same time, by the emancipation of both, than that of parcelling out a large portion of the vast rural possessions now actually administered, or to be administered by the State, into small leasehold allotments at a moderate annual rent, redeemable at any given time, to one or several families of the poorest peasants ; under such regulations and conditions as shall be deemed most fitting to ensure the speediest, most just, and most stable execution of so salutary a purpose, it is decreed :—

Article 1. A large portion of the rural domains belonging to religious corporations or other *main-mortes* of whatsoever description in whatsoever portion of the Roman territory, which either are or are to be placed under the administration of the State, shall be immediately divided into a given number of portions, sufficient for the maintenance of one or more necessitous families having no other means of subsistence ; who shall hold them in free and permanent leasehold in consideration of a moderate *canon* payable to the State, redeemable at any given time from the leasehold.

Article 2. A special regulation will distinctly determine the method of proceeding by which this wholesome provision shall be effectuated.

Article 3. Analogous measures will be taken with regard to the *fonds urbani*, arising from the same or from similar sources, with a view of providing better and less costly habitations for the poorer classes.

Article 4. The measures already announced with regard to the fitting payment of the expenses of public worship, the pastoral administration of parishes, and other establishments of public interest, either through payment in kind, the produce of leaseholds or other public monies belonging to the provincial or municipal authorities, will remain in force.

Article 5. The Ministers of Finance and of the Interior, are respectively charged with the execution of the present law.

35. APPEAL TO FRENCH SOLDIERS, MAY 10th,
1849

Soldiers of the French Republic !

You are for the second time led as enemies beneath the walls of Rome, of the republican city that was at once the cradle of liberty and of military valour.

Your leaders are urging you to fratricide.

And that fratricide, were it possible to effect it, would be a mortal blow to the liberties of France. The peoples are securities for one another. The destruction of our Republic would leave an ineffaceable stain upon your banner, would deprive France of an ally in Europe, would be a new step taken upon the path of monarchical restoration, towards which your great and beautiful country is being led by a government either deceiving or deceived.

Rome, therefore, will fight as she has fought. She knows how to fight for your liberty and for her own.

Soldiers of the French Republic, while you are advancing against our tri-coloured flag, the Russians, the men of 1815, are advancing against Hungary and looking towards France.

A few miles distant from you, a body of Neapolitan troops, defeated by us a few days since, yet bears aloft the flag of despotism and intolerance. A few leagues to our left, Leghorn, another republican city, is, at this present writing, engaged in resisting an Austrian invasion. Your post is there.

Tell your leaders to fulfil what they said to you. Remind them that they promised in Marseilles and Toulon to lead you against the Croats. Remind them that French soldiers bear the honour and liberties of France upon the point of their bayonets.

French soldiers ! soldiers of liberty ! Do not attack men who are your brothers. May the two tri-colour banners intertwined advance to the emancipation of the peoples and the destruction of tyranny ! God, France, and Italy will bless your arms.

Long live the French Republic ! long live the Roman Republic !

36. LAST PROCLAMATION OF THE ROMAN TRIUMVIRATE BEFORE ITS SURRENDER TO THE FRENCH, JULY 5th, 1849

Romans—Your city has been overcome by brute force, but your rights are neither lessened nor changed. The Roman Republic lives eternally inviolable in the suffrages of the men by whom it was proclaimed; in the spontaneous adhesion of all elements of the State; in the faith of the peoples who have admired our long defence; in the blood of the martyrs who have fallen beneath our walls for its sake. Our invaders betray their solemn promises as they list. God does not betray. Be you constant and faithful to the faith of your hearts in the trial which He wills you should for a while endure, and do not despair of the future. Brief are the dreams of violence; infallible the triumph of a people that hopes, combats, and suffers in the cause of justice and holy liberty.

You have given proof of military courage; now give proof of moral courage. By all you hold sacred, citizens, keep yourselves uncontaminated, free from weak fear or base egotism. Let the division between yourselves and your invaders remain evident to all men. Let Rome be their camp, not their city. And brand with the name of traitor to Rome, he who from whatever compromise with his own conscience, passes over to the enemy's camp. The destinies of Europe render it impossible that Rome should remain the conquest of France or of whomsoever.

Let not this French occupation lose its character of violence and conquest. Isolate the enemy. Europe will raise a powerful voice in your favour. Meanwhile, none can hinder the pacific expression of your will. Organise such pacific manifestations. Let your municipalities unceasingly declare with calm firmness *that they voluntarily adhered to the Republican form of government, and the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Pope; and that they regard as illegal whatsoever government be imposed without the free approval of the people*: then, if necessary, let them resign. From every quarter of Rome, from every provincial city, let lists be issued, signed by thousands of names, bearing testimony to the same faith, invoking the same right. In the streets, the theatres, in every place of meeting, let the same cry be heard. *Away with the Government of Priests! Freedom of vote!* After that cry retire. When

the Papal arms are again raised, let all who have taken the oath to the Republic, retire from their functions. Thousands cannot be imprisoned ; men cannot be compelled to degrade themselves. And you would degrade yourselves, O Romans ! you would degrade yourselves for ever, if, after having once declared to Europe that you were determined to be free, and having fought and lost the best men among you to become such, you should resume your slavery and make any compact with defeat.

Your forefathers, Romans, were great, not so much because they knew how to conquer as because they never despaired when overcome.

In the name of God and the People, be you great as your forefathers. Now, as then, and more than then, you have a world—the Italian world—in your keeping. Your Assembly is not extinct ; it is dispersed. Your Triumvirs—their public function suspended by the force of things—are on the watch for the opportune moment—which will depend on your conduct—in order again to convene the Assembly.

37. DANIELE MANIN'S LAST SPEECH TO THE
VENETIAN CIVIC GUARD, AUGUST 13th,
1849

We have sown ; good will bear fruit on good soil. Great disasters may arise—they are perhaps imminent—disasters amid which we shall have the great consolation of saying, " They came through no guilt of ours." If it be not in our power to ward off these disasters, it is nevertheless always in our power to preserve undefiled the honour of this city. I ask frankly of the Civic Guard, have you faith in my loyalty ? (Cries of " Yes ".) This unconquerable love saddens me, makes me feel still more poignantly how much this people suffers. On my mind, on my forces, physical, moral, and intellectual, you cannot rely ; but on my affection—great, passionate, undying—I bid you to count always. And whatever happens, say, " This man deceived himself ", but never say, " This man deceived us ". I have never deceived any one ; I have never spread illusions which I did not share ; I have never said " Hope " when I did not myself hope.

(iv) *Hungary*

38. LOUIS KOSSUTH'S SPEECH TO THE HUNGARIAN DIET, MARCH 4th, 1848

In a recent speech, touching the relations of Austria to this country, I expressed my conviction that the constitutional future of our nation will not be secure till the King is surrounded by constitutional forms in all the relations of his government. I expressed my conviction, that our country was not sure of the constitutional tendencies of those reforms, and of their results as long as the system of the monarchy, which has the same prince that we have, remains in direct opposition to constitutionalism, and as long as that privy council, which conducts the general administration of the monarchy, and which has an illegal and powerful influence on the internal affairs of the country, remains anti-constitutional in its elements, its composition and its tendency. I expressed my conviction, that, whenever our interests conflict with the allied interests of the monarchy, the differences thus created, can be removed without danger to our liberty and welfare only on the basis of a common constituency. I cast a sorrowful look on the origin and the development of the bureaucratic system of Vienna. I remind you that it reared the fabric of its marvellous power on the ruins of the liberty of our neighbours; and recounting the consequences of this fatal mechanism, and perusing the Book of Life, I prophesy it in the feeling of my truthful and faithful loyalty to the House of Habsburg, who will reform the system of government on a constitutional basis, and re-establish the throne of his house on the liberty of his people.

Mighty thrones, supported by political sagacity and power, have been overthrown, and nations have fought for and won their liberty, who three months ago could not have dreamed of the proximity of such an event. But for three whole months we are compelled to roll the stone of Sisyphus incessantly and without avail; and my mind I confess is clouded with almost the grief of despair at witnessing the languid progress which the cause of my country has made. I see with sorrow so much power, so true and noble a will toiling at this ungrateful and unrequited task. Yes, honourable deputies, the curse of a stifling vapour weighs upon us—a pestilential air sweeps over our country from the

charnel-house of the Viennese council of state, enervating our power, and exciting a deadening effect upon our national spirit. But while hitherto my anxiety has been caused by seeing the development of the resources of Hungary checked by this blighting influence, and that the antagonism which has existed for three centuries between the absolutist government of Vienna, and the constitutional tendency of the Hungarian nation, has not up to this day been reconciled, nor ever can be reconciled, without the abandonment of either the one or the other—my apprehension at the present time is increased by other causes, and a fear weighs upon my mind, lest this bureaucratic system, this policy of fixedness, which has grown to be part and parcel of the Viennese council of state, should lead to a dissolution of the monarchy, compromise the existence of our dynasty, and entail upon our country, which requires all her powers and resources for her own internal affairs, heavy sacrifices and interminable evils.

Such is the view I take of present affairs, and regarding them in this light, I deem it my urgent duty to call upon this honourable assembly seriously to direct its attention to the subject, and to devise means of averting the danger which threatens our country. We, to whom the nation has entrusted her present protection and her future security, cannot and dare not stand idly by and shut our eyes upon events and their consequences, until our country is gradually deluged by a flood of evil. To prevent the evil is the task to which we are called ; and satisfied I am, that if we neglect our duty, we shall be responsible for the ill that may result from our neglect, in the sight of God, before the world, and to our own consciences. If persisting in a perverse policy, we allow the opportunity for effecting a peaceful settlement to pass, and neglect to make the free and loyal sentiments of the representatives of this nation heard, we may repent it when the die has been irrevocably cast, when the embarrassment has proceeded so far as to leave us only the choice between an unconditional refusal, or sacrifices which no one can calculate ; but repentance will then come too late, and the favourable moment which was allowed to pass in listless inaction will be gone for ever.

39. HUNGARIAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, APRIL 14th, 1849

We, the legally constituted representatives of the Hungarian nation assembled in Diet, do by these presents solemnly proclaim, in maintenance of the inalienable natural rights of Hungary, with all its dependencies, to occupy the position of an independent European State—that the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. At the same time, we feel ourselves bound in duty to make known the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this decision, that the civilised world may learn we have taken this step not out of overweening confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement, but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from utter destruction a nation persecuted to the limit of the most enduring patience.

Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the House of Austria upon its throne, in accordance with stipulations made on both sides, and ratified by treaty. These three hundred years have been, for the country, a period of uninterrupted suffering.

The Creator has blessed this country with all the elements of wealth and happiness. Its area of 100,000 square miles presents in varied profusion innumerable sources of prosperity. Its population, numbering nearly fifteen millions, feels the glow of youthful strength within its veins, and has shown temper and docility which warrant its proving at once the main organ of civilisation in Eastern Europe, and the guardian of that civilisation when attacked. Never was a more grateful task appointed to a reigning dynasty by the dispensation of Providence than that which devolved upon the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. It would have sufficed to do nothing that could impede the development of the country. Had this been the rule observed, Hungary would now rank amongst the most prosperous nations. It was only necessary that it should not envy the Hungarians the moderate share of constitutional liberty which they timidly maintained during the difficulties of a thousand years with rare fidelity to their sovereigns, and the House of Habsburg might long have counted this nation amongst the most faithful adherents of the throne.

This dynasty, however, which can at no epoch point to a ruler who based his power on the freedom of the people, adopted a course towards this nation, from father to son, which deserves the appellation of perjury.



Confiding in the justice of an eternal God, we, in the face of the civilised world, in reliance upon the natural rights of the Hungarian nation, and upon the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation legally represented by us the following :—

1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it and its dependencies, are hereby declared a free, independent, sovereign state. The territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

2nd. The House of Habsburg-Lorraine—having by treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts, in breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Fiume, and its districts from Hungary—further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power, for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended—is, as treacherous and perjured, forever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished forever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished forever from the Hungarian territory.

3rd. The Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, being determined to assume the position of a free and independent state amongst the nations of Europe, declares it to be its intention to establish and maintain friendly and neighbourly relations with those states with

which it was formerly united under the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with all other nations.

4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.



And this resolution of ours we shall proclaim and make known to all the nations of the civilised world, with the conviction that the Hungarian nation will be received by them amongst the free and independent nations of the world, with the same friendship and free acknowledgment of its rights which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

We also hereby proclaim and make known to all the inhabitants of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communes, towns and the civil officers both in the countries and cities, are completely set free and released from all the obligations under which they stood, by oath or otherwise, to the said House of Habsburg-Lorraine, and that any individual daring to contravene this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of high treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the Government now instituted formally, and endowed with all necessary legal powers.

40. PROCLAMATION OF ABDICATION BY KOSSUTH'S GOVERNMENT, AUGUST 11th, 1849

After the unfortunate battles, wherewith God, in these latter days, has visited our people, we have no hope of our successful continuance of the defence against the allied forces of Russia and Austria. Under such circumstances, the salvation of the national existence, and the protection of its fortune, lies in the hands of the leaders of the army. It is my firm conviction that the continuance of the present Government would not only prove useless, but also injurious to the nation. Acting upon this conviction, I proclaim that—moved by those patriotic feelings which, throughout the course of my life, have impelled me to devote all my thoughts to the country—I, and with me the whole of the Cabinet, resign the guidance of the public affairs; and

that the supreme civil and military power is herewith conferred on the General Arthur Görgei, until the nation, making use of its right, shall have disposed that power according to its will. I expect of the said General Görgei—and I make him responsible to God, the nation, and to history—that, according to the best of his ability, he will use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence of our poor country and of its future. May he love his country with that disinterested love which I bear it ! May his endeavours to re-conquer the independence and happiness of the nation be crowned with greater success than mine were !

I have it no longer in my power to assist the country by actions. If my death can benefit it, I will gladly sacrifice my life. May the God of justice and of mercy watch over my poor people.

LOUIS KOSSUTH
S. VUCKORITS
L. CSANYI
M. HORVATH

(v) *England*

41. FEARGUS O'CONNOR'S APPEAL TO THE
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, APRIL 1st, 1848

Onward, and we conquer,

Backward, and we fall !

The People's Charter and No Surrender !

Old Guards ! as I believe in my soul that the time has now arrived when we are entitled to the fruits of our thirteen years' labour, I call upon you to perform this duty which your own order, "the fustian jackets, the blistered hands and unshorn chins", expect from your hands. It is impossible, as it would be immoral, that the labouring classes of England, the most oppressed of any country in the world, should allow the present manifestation of their order throughout the world to pass unnoticed or unimproved by them. . . . I would rather die than give up one particle of the Charter. Still, remember that our movement is a labour movement, originated in the first instance by the fustian jackets, the blistered hands and the unshorn chins. Further, I would not give a fig for the Charter if we were not prepared with

a solid, social system to take the place of the artificial one which we mean to destroy ; and it was good that we did not succeed earlier with the Charter, before we were ready with the new social system. Look at France ; the great trouble of the Provisional Government is the organisation of labour. And so will it be in Prussia, where the people are rejoicing over their victory over Frederick William IV, while the latter is really laying the foundation for a stronger military power. But in addition to the Charter we have land reform, which will give bread to the working man when the Charter is carried. The Charter and the Land ! These are our objects. Protect us in our work—People of England ! Sign the Petition !

42. PROGRAMME ADOPTED BY THE CHARTIST CONVENTION, APRIL 5th, 1848

1st.—That in the event of the National Petition being rejected by the House of Commons, this Convention proposes a National Memorial to the Queen to dissolve the present Parliament and to call to her council such ministers only as will make *The People's Charter* a cabinet measure.

2nd.—That this Convention agree to the convocation of a National Assembly to consist of delegates at public meetings to present the National Memorial to the Queen and to continue permanently sitting until the Charter is the law of the land.

3rd.—That this Convention call upon the country to hold simultaneous meetings on Good Friday, April 21st, for the purpose of adopting the National Memorial, and electing delegates to the National Assembly.

4th.—That the National Assembly shall meet in London on April 24th.

5th.—That the present Convention shall continue its sittings until the meeting of the National Assembly.

43. FROM THE CHARTIST PETITION, SUBMITTED APRIL 10th, 1848

Labour is the source of all wealth. The people are the source of all political power. The worker has the right to the produce of his labour. Taxation without parliamentary representation is tyranny. The resources and economic means of a country are best developed and administered

most advantageously by means of laws which are made by the representatives of the working and the industrious classes.

44. CHARLES KINGSLEY'S APPEAL TO THE
CHARTISTS, APRIL 12th, 1848

Workmen of England !

You say that you are wronged. Many of you are wronged ; and many besides yourselves know it. Almost all the men who have heads and hearts know it—above all, the working clergy know it. They go into your houses, they see the shameful filth and darkness in which you are forced to live crowded together ; they see your children growing up in ignorance and temptation, for want of fit education ; they see intelligent and well-read men among you, shut out from a Freeman's just right of voting ; and they see too the noble patience and self-control with which you have as yet borne these evils. They see it, and God sees it.

Workmen of England ! You have more friends than you think for. Friends who expect nothing from you, but who love you, because you are their brothers, and who fear God, and therefore dare not neglect you, His children ; men who are drudging and sacrificing themselves to get you your rights : men who know what your rights are, better than you know yourselves, who are trying to get for you something nobler than charters and dozens of Acts of Parliament—more useful than this “ fifty thousandth share in a Talker in the National Palaver at Westminster ” can give you. You may disbelieve them, insult them—you cannot stop their working for you, beseeching you as you love yourselves, to turn back from the precipice of riot, which ends in the gulf of universal distrust, stagnation, starvation.

You think the Charter would make you free—would to God it would ! *The Charter is not bad ; if the men who use it are not bad !* But will the Charter make you free ? Will it free you from slavery to ten-pound bribes ? Slavery to beer and gin ? Slavery to every spouter who flatters your self-conceit and stirs up bitterness and headlong rage in you ? That, I guess, is real slavery ; to be a slave to one's own stomach, one's own pocket, one's own temper. Will the Charter cure that ? Friends, you want more than Acts of Parliament can give.

Englishmen ! Saxons ! Workers of the great, cool-headed, strong-headed nation of England, the workshop of the world, the leader of freedom for seven hundred years, men say you have common sense ! then do not humbug yourselves into meaning " licence ", when you cry for " liberty " ; who would dare refuse you freedom ? For the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, the poor Man, who died for poor men, will bring it about for you, though all the Mammonites of the earth were against you. A nobler day is dawning for England, a day of freedom, science, industry !

But there will be no true freedom without virtue, no true science without religion, no true industry without the fear of God, and love to your fellow-citizens.

Workers of England, be wise, and then you must be *free*, for you will be *fit* to be free.

A WORKING PARSON

45. SPEECH BY ERNEST JONES AT TOWER HAMLETS, MAY 25th, 1848 (for which he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment)

I am a physical force Chartist, and all I say is this, stand fast by your colours, do not shrink from the Charter—and the whole Charter—do not mind nonsense of the half-and-half men, do not pay any attention to the *Dispatch*, and if you see any bodies of police coming near to this meeting, marching in to this meeting, stand your ground shoulder to shoulder. Do not run, there is danger for those who run, there is safety for those who keep together. Dare them to strike you, and my word for it, they dare not strike a blow ; bad as the laws are now, they are still sufficiently stringent to punish those men who assault peaceable citizens in the peaceable execution or performance of their duty. In nine cases out of ten it is your own fault : it is your own cowardice that invites others to strike a blow. It is men saying we will not do this, and we will not do that, because it is forbid. Make up your mind, stand to your guard, there cannot be more heads broken than are broken on those occasions when men run away. All I say is, that Government are desirous of marring the performance of your present great duty. That duty is organisation. I have not been among you for some little time. Where are your classes ? Have

you your ward-mates? Have you got your class-leaders? Have you projected your organisation? If not, call public meetings, and elect class-leaders at these public meetings. Do not let the classes be formed before you have the class-leaders. You will find it more easy to form a class after the class-leader is appointed, for, if you form classes, and then afterwards appoint the class-leaders, you may spend two or three hours more upon the formation of every class, and can never come to a final determination with regard to it, as one man will live here and another there. Elect the class-leader. The class-leader will know the men likely to form the class living in his neighbourhood. He will go to these men and invite them, and there can be no dictation, no assumption of that power, because you all elect the class-leader at the public meeting. Rest assured that if each locality elects one hundred class-leaders, you will soon have a thousand men under the banner. That is the way to get up the organisation, and then you may elect ward-mates. One out of every ten will be a ward-mate. Commence at the foundation aright—namely, the classes and the wards. All the rest will follow of itself. As a matter of course begin by forming your classes. It is no use coming among you when there is no organisation, and it is not the executive that can get up the organisation. The executive cannot go to each locality. It must be men in the localities. . . . Steer clear of all political outbreaks and partial rioting. . . . That is just what the Government wants. In a riot of that kind they immediately seize on the leading men. They will immediately cripple our organisation, and we will be thrown back. Go on organising, organising, organising, and the rest will come, never fear it. And there is one thing that is wanted, which is funds. Without funds the organisation is of little use. The country is beginning to do its duty, and there is a great test of public feeling. . . . If you mean to do anything, see well first if you have it in your power to do it; and then having made up your mind, do not let even death itself prevent you from carrying it into effect. Only preparation—only organisation is wanted, and the Green Flag shall float over Downing Street and St Stephens. Only energy is wanted—only determination. What will be the result? Why! that John Mitchel and John Frost will be brought back, and Sir George Grey and Lord John Russell will be sent to change places with them.

(vi) *Ireland*

46. FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH CONFEDERATION, MARCH 15th, 1848

Frankly, and at once, the Confederation accepted the only policy thereafter possible, and acknowledged the meaning of the European revolutions. On the 15th of March, O'Brien moved an address of congratulation to the victorious French people ; and ended his speech with these words :—

“ It would be recollected that a short time ago he thought it his duty to turn the attention of the people to military affairs, because it seemed to him that, in the then condition of the country, the only effect of leading the people's mind to what was called ‘ a guerilla warfare ’ would be to encourage some of the misguided peasantry to the commission of murder. Therefore it was that he declared he should not be a party to giving such a recommendation. But the state of affairs was totally different now ; and he had no hesitation in declaring that he thought the minds of intelligent young men should be turned to the consideration of such questions as, how strong places can be captured, and weak ones defended—how supplies of food and ammunition can be cut off from an enemy—and how they can be secured to a friendly force. The time was also come when every lover of his country should come forward openly, and proclaim his willingness to be enrolled in the national guard. No man, however, should tender his name as a member of the national guard unless he was prepared to do two things : one, to preserve the State from anarchy ; the other, to be ready to die for the defence of his country.”

From Mitchel's *Ireland Since '98*

47. FROM SMITH O'BRIEN'S SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH, 1848

I conceive that it is the peculiar duty of the Irish people to obtain the possession of arms at a time when you tell them you are prepared to crush their expression of opinion, not by argument, but by brute force.

48. FROM JOHN MITCHEL'S LETTER TO THE
PROTESTANTS OF ULSTER (one of the docu-
ments for which he was transported for 14 years in
June, 1848)

I tell you, frankly, that I, for one, am not "loyal". I am not wedded to the Queen of England, or unalterably attached to the House of Brunswick. In fact, I love my own barn better than I love that House. The time is long past when Jehovah *anointed* kings. The thing has long since grown a monstrous imposture, and has been already, in some civilised countries, detected as such, and drummed out accordingly. A modern king, my friends, is no more like an ancient anointed shepherd of the people than an archbishop's apron is like the *Urim* and *Thummin*. There is no divine right now but the sovereign people.

And, for the "institutions of the country", I loathe and despise them; we are sickening and dying of these institutions, fast; they are consuming us like a plague, degrading us to paupers in mind, body and estate—yes, making our very souls beggarly and cowardly. They are a failure and a fraud, these institutions;—from the topmost crown jewel to the meanest detective's notebook, there is no soundness in them. God and man are weary of them. Their last hour is at hand; and I thank God that I live in the days when I shall witness the utter downfall, and trample upon the grave, of the most portentous, the grandest, meanest, falsest, and cruellest tyranny that ever deformed this world. . . .

My friends, the people's sovereignty, the land and sea and air of Ireland: this is the gospel that the heavens are secretly burning to embrace. Give up for ever that old interpretation you put upon the word "Repeal". Ours is no priest-movement; it is no sectarian movement; it is no money swindle, or "'Eighty-two" delusion, nor puffery, nor O'Connellism, nor Mullaghmast "green-cap" stage-play, nor loud-sounding inanity of any sort, got up for any man's profit or praise. It is the mighty, passionate struggle of a nation hastening to be born into new national life; in which all the parts, and powers, and elements of our Irish existence—our Confederations, our Protestant Repeal Associations, our Tenant-right Societies, our Clubs, and Communities, amidst confusions tending to one and the same illustrious goal—not a local legislative—not a return

to "our ancient Constitution", not a golden link or patchwork Parliament, or a College Green chapel-of-ease to Saint Stephen's—but an Irish Republic, one and indivisible. . .

Will you not gird up your loins for this great national struggle, and stand with your countrymen for life and land? Will you, sons of a warlike race, the inheritors of conquering memories, with the arms of free men in all your homes, and relics of the gallant Republicans of 'Ninety-eight for ever before your eyes—will you stand folding your hands in helpless "loyalty", and while every nation in Christendom is seizing on its birth-right with armed hand, will you take patiently your rations of yellow meal, and your inevitable portion of eternal contempt. . . .

III

THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORISTS

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

49. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

France will never live and work for herself alone. When she sleeps or when she turns away from her natural path, a deep discomfort seizes on all countries ; when she burns and becomes active, the conflagration spreads everywhere. It will not be at the will of any man, however highly placed he may be in the love and confidence of his fellow citizens, to prevent the tempest which has burst in Paris from agitating deeply, revolutionarily, to the very depth of their entrails, all the societies of Europe. . . . The victory of the revolutionary principle in Europe is for France a question of life or death ; in one way or another we shall in a little time see the face of Europe change completely. In a little, in less than a year, perhaps, we shall see the monstrous Austrian empire crumble ; the liberated Italians proclaim the Italian republic ; the Germans reunited in a single great nation proclaim the German republic, and the Polish republicans, exiled for seventeen years, return to their hearths. The revolutionary movement will only halt when Europe, the whole of Europe, not excepting even Russia, shall have become a federal-democratic republic. . . . The revolution will perish if royalty does not disappear from the surface of Europe.

From *La Réforme*

50. THE OVERTHROW OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

Two great questions were posed from the first days of the spring : the social question and that of the independence of all the nations, the emancipation at once of people at home and abroad. It was not a few individuals, nor was it a party, it was the admirable instinct of the masses which had raised these two questions above all others and which demanded a prompt solution to them. Everybody had understood that liberty is only a lie where the great majority of the population

is reduced to leading a poverty-stricken existence, where, deprived of education, leisure and bread, they find themselves more or less destined to serve as stepping stones for the powerful and the rich. The social revolution then appears as a natural and necessary consequence of the political revolution. In the same way it was felt that while there was in Europe a single nation persecuted, the decisive and complete triumph of democracy would not be possible anywhere. The oppression of a people, of even of a simple individual, is the oppression of all and it is impossible to violate the liberty of one without violating the liberty of all. . . . The social question, a very difficult question, bristling with dangers and big with tempests, cannot be resolved either by a preconceived theory or by any isolated system. To solve it, there must be good will and unanimous agreement, there must be the faith of all in the right of everybody to an equal liberty. It is necessary to overthrow the material and moral conditions of our present existence, break into ruins from below this decaying social world, which has become impotent and sterile and which will be unable to contain or to allow such a great mass of liberty. It will be necessary beforehand to purify our atmosphere and transform completely the surroundings in which we live, which corrupt our instincts and our wills, in limiting our hearts and our intelligences. The social question thus appeared from the first as the overturning of society.

From *An Appeal to the Slaves*

51. THE ANARCHICAL STRUGGLE

Reaction is a thought which by age has become an imbecility. But the revolution is more an instinct than a thought ; it acts, it spreads like instinct, and like instinct it will also engage in its first battles. . . . I believe neither in constitutions nor in laws. The best constitution could not satisfy me. We need something else ; passions and life and a new world, without laws and consequently free. . . .

Only an anarchical peasant war . . . can save Germany. . . . Evil passions will cause a peasant war to be born and I rejoice, since I do not fear anarchy, but desire it with all my heart. It alone can uproot us by force from that cursed mediocrity in which we have vegetated so long.

From letters to Herwegh

LOUIS BLANC

52. ASSOCIATION OF WORK

(From a programme submitted to the Provisional Government by the Luxembourg Commission)

Behold the arrival of the hour for coming to a settlement with distress and considering means of a remedial and restorative tendency. The sacred standard around which the people rally is inscribed, with three words which no hand will henceforth efface, for the realisation of this motto is brought about by the resistless course of events—these words are : “ Liberty, equality and fraternity.”

Now, two great forms or combinations seem destined to envelop, in a way, the new civil and social relations of mankind ; two great ideas, necessary corollaries of the sentiments of equality and fraternity, alone possess the power in the present day of reconstructing and enriching—on the one side association, the principle of all strength and all economy ; on the other, the disinterested intervention of the State—the principle of all order, all distributive justice, and all unity.

We have sufficiently detailed the benefits conferred by the principle of association ; those benefits legalise its accession, which we announce to you. As to the State, it is clear that, if it has any social duty, it is to interfere as a peaceful protector wherever there are rights to adjust and interests to guarantee ; it is to place all citizens in equal conditions of moral, intellectual, and physical development. This is its law ; and it can only accomplish this law by reserving to itself the right of distributing credit, of furnishing implements of labour to those who want them, in such a manner as to render the living sources of wealth accessible to all. Take away this economical attribute—take away all foresight from the State—we mean the State as democratically constituted—and the organisation of labour becomes a lie, and the intolerable miseries of the people must remain for ever without a remedy.

These principles will have no efficiency unless applied to every sphere of social activity, to every order of labour and interests. If a vast *ensemble* of measures and combinations, conceived in this spirit of unity, do not simultaneously and progressively transform agriculture, trade, and commerce—

if the legislator and the political economist, in their views of the future, do not lend equal attention to the production, the distribution and the completion of wealth—if they do not at once harmonise the mode and the laws—if they neglect to introduce mutual dependence and reciprocity between occupations and between persons—all is compromised and perilled, because all is subjected anew to contradiction, to two-fold employment, to antipathy, and to war.

We have already, after having shown you what motives induced us to pronounce the downfall of the system of a liberticide *laissez faire* to substitute for antagonism and isolation the principle of union and mutual dependence, laid before you a sketch of the plan for the organisation of labour in the workshops of manufacturing industry, and we have even pointed out how, by the construction of a few vast edifices—*i.e.*, by a single and intelligent architectural arrangement, it will be possible to realise a large saving in the consumption of the working classes, without disturbing any interest.

But we must go further ; we never dreamt of confining within such narrow limits the complex problem of the organisation of labour. In fact, are not competition, confusion and disorder everywhere prevalent in town and country—in the farm and the shop, as well as in the factory ? Do they not weigh down every age and sex—do they not oppress women and children, quite as much as men and adults ? Then the agricultural social workshop, and the workshop of exchange, sale or purchase, ought to be organised simultaneously with the industrial social workshop.

The commencement of the great work is pointed out to us by the very circumstances in which we are at present placed. Everybody must be struck by two great facts, which are aggravated in proportion to our advance—by a two-fold tendency, which at once menaces us with the repletion and the pauperism—the too much and the too little—of the state of society in England. Disaster devastates the ranks of the masters, and idleness saps the energies of the people ; in many workshops labour is wholly suspended, and a large number of operatives, unclassified and floating, remain excluded from the labours of the nation.

Every day we are visited by the heads of all sorts of establishments, who come to abandon to us their labour, requesting us to substitute the agency of the State for their own, in

order to save the wages of their numerous *employees*. As to the unemployed operatives, they rush to us in crowds.

A merciless necessity, therefore, is about to bend the will of the legislature ; wants so imperious must be satisfied.

1. The State ought to stop, or at least to diminish the disasters of private trade, to save the masters by purchasing their implements whenever it may be convenient to do so, and when they themselves make the offer. The State ought also to save the operatives by husbanding the means of continuing their labours. This is the two-fold object which we proposed to attain in elaborating the plan of social workshops for trade, to which we have already drawn your attention.

2. The State ought to create new centres of labour and production, to which all the unclassed, unoccupied, and necessitous portion of the population may be admitted immediately, and find prosperity, security, dignity and liberty. In order to meet this pressing necessity, we propose, as a measure already in principle adopted, the redemption of the railroads, canals and mines, in order that they may be immediately transformed into social workshops, into dock-yards of the Republic.

With the same object in view, we propose the creation of agricultural workshops in different parts of the French territories, where the surplus population of the towns may find an outlet.

We propose *entrepôts* and bazaars, with the object of regulating exchanges, of introducing truth and sincerity into business transactions, of simplifying the circulation, and reducing the expenses of trade, of establishing industrial credit on new bases, and of rendering the use of paper money general.

3. The State ought to insure the financial resources of all these establishments, to found a system of territorial and commercial credit, and for this purpose to decree an *ensemble* of institutions or economical combinations corresponding with the exigencies of an unprecedented state of things.

We consequently propose to transform the system of banks and assurances into national institutions ; to appreciate to the special budget of the organisation of labour all the profits accruing from the creation of the bazaars and *entrepôts*, with the economy of which you will soon be made acquainted. We also propose a project for the organisation of territorial credit, according to which mortgage debts may

be redeemed and capital placed at the disposal of the agriculturists on reasonable terms.

Other practical conceptions, which we are elaborating, especially that of a unique tax, will complete this *ensemble* of measures destined to serve as a means of transition from the old to the new order of things ; for it is not our business to make a *tabula rasa* of the vestiges of a long past in one moment ; but in a manner to engraft the future on the present.

To sum up, we submit for discussion two very distinct orders of measures—on the one hand, social workshops of agriculture and trade, to be organised on the new bases of association and mutual dependence ; and, on the other, institutions to be founded, modified, or transformed.

LOUIS-AUGUSTE BLANQUI

53. REVOLUTION OF THE MASSES

France is not republican. The revolution which has just been accomplished is a happy surprise, and nothing more. If today we attempt to carry to power men who have been compromised in the eyes of the bourgeoisie by political condemnations, the provinces will take fright ; they will remember the Terror and the Convention, and will perhaps recall the exiled King. The National Guard itself has been only our involuntary accomplice ; it is composed of frightened shopkeepers who tomorrow may well undo what they allowed to happen yesterday to cries of “Vive la République !”

Leave the men of the Hôtel de Ville to their impotence ; their weakness is the certain sign of their downfall. They have in their hands an ephemeral power ; we have the people and the clubs in which we will organise them for revolution, as formerly the Jacobins organised them. Let us wait a few days longer, and the Revolution will be ours ! If we took power by an audacious stroke, like robbers in the shadows of night, who would answer for the duration of our power ? Would there not be beneath us energetic and ambitious men burning to replace us by the same means ? What we need is the mass of the people, the working-class districts in revolt, a new 10th August. Then we should at least have the prestige of revolutionary strength.

Speech on February 26th, 1848

54. EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS

The republic will be a lie if it should be only the substitution of one form of Government for another.

It is not enough to change words ; we must change things.

The Republic is the emancipation of the workers, it is the end of the reign of exploitation, it is the advent of a new order which will free labour from the tyranny of capital.

Liberty ! Equality ! Fraternity !

That motto, which shines on the faces of our buildings, should not be a vain operative decoration.

Away with toys ! We are no longer children. There is no freedom when one lacks bread. There is no equality when wealth sprawls beside poverty. There is no brotherhood when the working woman drags herself and her starved children to the doors of palaces.

Work and bread ! . . .

Proclamation of March 26th, 1848

55. THE TYRANNY OF CAPITAL

The Republic, like the monarchy, can shelter slavery under its flag.

Sparta, Rome, Venice were corrupt and oppressive oligarchies. In the United States slavery is an institution.

The formula : Liberty, Equality, Fraternity ! could become a lie as celebrated as that of the Charter : All Frenchmen are equal before the law !

The tyranny of capital is more pitiless than that of the sword and the censor. The Revolution of February had for object its destruction. This end is also that of the Central Republican Society and each of its members is pledged to follow it until it is reached.

Proclamation, March, 1848

KARL MARX

56. THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. (Part II. Proletarians and Communists)

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole ?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only : 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others ; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties : formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property-relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence : Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the ground work of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property ! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form ? There is no need to abolish that ; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property ?

But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer ? Not a bit. It creates capital, *i.e.*, that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class-character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, *i.e.*, that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we

want to do away with, is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is, the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so: that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, *i.e.*, from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois pro-

perty, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society : all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness ; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology : that there can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share

with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family ! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based ? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents ? To this crime we plead guilty.

But you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education ! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc. ? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education ; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, as by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion, than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous

indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women ; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident, that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i.e.*, of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps ever pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly", it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property-relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.

2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.

4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.

6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State: the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing indus-

tries : gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON

57. THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

After belief in God, it is belief in Authority that occupies the greatest place in general thought. Wherever there exist men grouped in society, there is to be found, with the rudiment of a religion, the rudiment of power, the embryo of a government. This fact is as primitive, as universal, as certain as that of religion.

But what is Power, and what is the best form of Government? For it is clear that, if we come to know the essence and attributes of power, we shall at the same time know what is the best form to give it, what is, among all constitutions, the most perfect. In that way we shall have solved one of the two great problems posed by the Revolution of February : we shall have solved the political problem, principle, means and end—we prejudge nothing—of economic reform.

On Government, as on Religion, controversy has lasted since the origin of societies, and with as little success. As many governments as religions, as many political theories as systems of philosophy : that is to say, no solution. More than two thousand years before Montesquieu and Machiavelli, Aristotle, gathering together the various definitions of government, distinguished it according to its forms : patriarchies, democracies, oligarchies, aristocracies, absolute monarchies, constitutional monarchies, theocracies, federal republics, etc. Aristotle, in the matter of government, as in the matter of religion, was a sceptic. He had faith neither in God nor in State.

And we who, in sixty years, have tried seven or eight kinds of government, who, hardly having started with a Republic, are already tired of our Constitution, we, for whom the exercise of power, from the conquest of the Gauls by Cæsar to the ministry of the Barrot brothers, has only been the practice of oppression and despotism, we, finally, who at this moment behold the saturnalia of the Governments of Europe, have we then more faith than Aristotle? Is it not time that we emerged from that unfortunate rut, and that in place of exhausting ourselves further in the search for a better government, or the best organisation for achieving the political idea, we put the question, no longer on the reality, but on the legitimacy of that idea?

Why do we believe in Government? Whence comes into human society that idea of Authority, of Power, that fiction of a superior Person, called the State?

How is that fiction produced? How is it developed? What is its law of evolution, its economy?

Would it not be with Government* as with God and the Absolute, which have so long and so unfruitfully occupied the philosophers? Would not it also be one of the primitive conceptions of our understanding, to which we wrongly give the title of ideas, and which, without reality, without possible realisation, express only an indefinite, have only an arbitrary essence?

And since, in relation to God and Religion, it has already been found, by philosophical analysis, that under the allegory of its religious myths Humanity pursues nothing more than its own ideal, cannot we in the same way search for what it is seeking under the allegory of its political myths? For, in the last resort, political institutions, so different and so

contradictory, exist neither by themselves nor for themselves ; like cults, they are not essential to society, they are formulæ or hypothetical combinations, by means of which civilisation is maintained in the appearance of order, or, to be more exact, searches for order. What is then, once again, the meaning hidden by these institutions, the real end in which the political concept, the notion of government, is absorbed ?

In place of seeing in government, with the absolutists, the organ and expression of society ; with the doctrinaires, an instrument of order, or rather of police ; with the radicals, a means of Revolution : let us try to see in this simply a phenomenon of the collective life, the external representation of our right, the education of some of our faculties. Who knows whether we shall not then discover that all these governmental formulæ, for which peoples and individuals have cut each other's throats for sixty centuries, are only a phantasmagoria of our minds, that the first duty of a free reason is to relegate them to the museums and libraries ?

Like Religion, Government is a manifestation of social spontaneity, a preparation of Humanity for a superior state. What Humanity seeks in Religion and calls God is itself. What the citizen seeks in Government and calls King, Emperor or President, is also himself ; it is FREEDOM.

Outside Humanity, there is no God ; the theological concept is meaningless. Outside Liberty, there is no Government ; the political concept is valueless.

The best form of Government, like the most perfect of religions, is a contradictory idea. The problem is not to know how we shall be best governed, but how we shall be most free. Liberty adequate and compatible with order ; that is all the reality which is contained in power and politics. How is this absolute liberty, synonymous with order, to be constituted ?—that is what the analysis of the different formulæ of authority will give us. For the rest, we do not admit the government of man by man, any more than we admit the exploitation of man by man. . . .

Today we say :

Political liberty will result for us, like industrial liberty, from mutual guarantees. It is in our guaranteeing each other's liberty, that we will dispense with this government, whose destination is to symbolise the republican slogan : *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, leaving to our intelligence the care of finding its realisation. But what is the formula of

that political and liberal guarantee? At present, universal suffrage, later, the free contract.

Economic and social reform, for the mutual guarantee of credit ;

Political reform, for the transaction of individual liberties.

Such is the programme of the *Voix du peuple*.

Confessions of a Revolutionary

58. GOVERNMENTS AND REVOLUTION

[The following passages from Proudhon's *Confessions of a Revolutionary* arise out of the discussion of an article by de Girardin in *La Presse*, June 6th, 1848, in which he attacked Proudhon's advocacy of the "demolition of government" and declared, "There are two manners of being revolutionary: *from above*, which is revolution by initiative, by intelligence, by progress, by ideas ; *from below*, which is revolution by insurrection, by force, by despair, by the streets."]

It pleases this ingenious journalist to call the revolution by initiative, by intelligence, by progress and ideas, *revolution from above* ; it pleases him to call the revolution by insurrection and despair, *revolution from below*. It is just the contrary that is true.

From above, in the mind of the author I quote, means evidently power ; *from below*, means the people. On one side the action of governments, on the other the initiative of the masses.

Thus we must know which of these two initiatives, that of the government or that of the people, is the more intelligent, the more progressive, the more pacific.

But the revolution from above is, inevitably, revolution by the good pleasure of a prince, by the despotism of a minister, by the fumbings of an assembly, by the violence of a club ; it is revolution by dictatorship and despotism.

Thus it was practised by Louis XIV, Robespierre, Napoleon, Charles X ; thus it was desired by Messieurs Guizot, Louis Blanc, Léon Faucher. The whites, the blues, the reds, all are in agreement on this point.

Revolution by the initiative of the masses, is revolution by the concurrence of the citizens, by the experience of the workers, by progress and the diffusion of light, revolution by liberty. Condorcet, Turgot, Danton, sought revolution from below, the true democracy. One of the men who revolutionised most, and who governed least, was Saint Louis.

France, in the time of Saint Louis, had created herself ; she had produced, as a vine pushed forth its buds, her lords and vassals : when the king published his famous decree, he was no more than the registrar of the public wishes.

Socialism surrendered fully to the illusion of Jacobinism ; the divine Plato, more than two thousand years ago, was a sad example of this. Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Cabet, Louis Blanc, all partisans of the organisation of work by the State, by capital, by whatsoever authority, call, like M. de Girardin, for the revolution *from above*. Instead of teaching the people to organise themselves, instead of appealing to their experience and reason, they ask for power over them. In what way did they differ from despots ? They also are utopists, like all despots.

A government can never be revolutionary, and that for the very simple reason that it is a government. Society alone, the mass penetrated by intelligence, can revolutionise itself, because it alone can rationally display its spontaneity, analyse and explain the mystery of its destiny and its origin, change its faith and philosophy ; because, finally, it alone is capable of struggling against its author, and producing its own fruit. Governments are the scourges of God, established to *discipline* the world ; and you want them to destroy themselves, to create liberty, to make revolutions !

This cannot happen. All revolutions, from the consecration of the first king up to the declaration of the Rights of Man, have been accomplished by the spontaneity of the people ; if sometimes the rulers have followed the popular initiative, it has been because they have been forced and constrained to it. Almost always, they have hindered, repressed and struck ; never, of their own volition, have they revolutionised anything. Their rôle is not to aid progress, but to restrain it. Even if, which is a contradiction, they possessed revolutionary science, social science, they could not apply it ; they would not have the right to do so. It would be necessary for them beforehand to pass their science on to the people, for them to obtain the consent of the citizens : that is to misunderstand the nature of authority and power.

Here the facts confirm the theory. The freest nations are those where power has least initiative, where its rôle is most restrained : let us mention only the United States of America, Switzerland, England, Holland. On the contrary, the most

enslaved nations are those in which power is best organised and strongest—witness ourselves. . . .

Formerly the church said, speaking like a tender mother : All for the people, but all by the priests.

The monarchy came after the church : All for the people, but all by the prince.

The doctrinaires : All for the people, but all by the bourgeoisie.

The Jacobins have not changed the principle by changing the formula : All for the people, but all by the State.

It is always the same governmentalism, the same communism.

Who will finally dare to say : All for the people, and all by the people, even government?—All for the people : Agriculture, commerce, industry, philosophy, religion, order, etc. All by the people : government and religion, as well as agriculture and commerce.

Democracy is the abolition of all powers, spiritual and temporal, legislative, executive, judiciary, proprietary. It is not the Bible, assuredly, that reveals this to us ; it is the logic of societies, it is the concatenation of revolutionary acts, it is all modern philosophy. . . .

According to M. de Lamartine, agreeing in this with M. de Genoude, it is for the government to say : *I wish*. The country has only to reply : *I consent*.

But the experience of the centuries replies to them that the best of governments is that which best succeeds in making itself useless. Do we need parasites so that we may work, or priests so that we may speak to God ? We have no greater need of representatives to govern us.

The exploitation of man by man, it has been said, is robbery. The government of man by man is slavery ; and all positive religion, tending to the dogma of papal infallibility, is itself only the adoration of man by man, idolatry.

Absolutism, welding together the power of the altar, the throne and the strong-room, has multiplied, like a net, the chains on humanity. After the exploitation of man by man, after the adoration of man by man, we have still :

The judgment of man by man,

The condemnation of man by man,

And, to end the series, the punishment of man by man !

These religious, political and judiciary institutions, of which we are so proud, until, by the progress of time, they

are blighted and fall, as fruit falls in its season, are the instruments of our apprenticeship, the visible signs of the government of instinct over humanity, the enfeebled but undisfigured remnants of bloody customs which characterise our Dark Ages. Anthropophagy disappeared long ago, never without the resistance of authority, with its atrocious rites : it continues everywhere in the spirit of our institutions, such as the eucharist and the Penal Code.

Philosophic reason repudiates this symbolism of savages ; it denounces these exaggerated forms of *human respect*. Nevertheless, it does not imagine, like the Jacobins and the doctrinaires, that we can proceed to that reform by legislative authority ; it does not admit that anyone has the right to procure the good of the people in spite of the people. Philosophy gives its confidence only to reforms which emerge from the free will of societies : the only revolutions it acknowledges are those which proceed from the initiative of the masses : it denies, in the most absolute manner, the revolutionary competence of governments.

In recapitulation :

If one only consults faith, the splitting of society appears as the terrible effect of the original fall of man. This is what the Greek mythology expressed by the fable of the warriors born of dragon's teeth, who all killed each other after their birth. God, in the manner of this myth, has left in the hands of antagonistic parties the government of humanity, so that discord should establish its reign on the earth, and that man should learn, under a perpetual tyranny, to turn his thought back towards another abode.

In the sight of reason, the governments and parties are only the setting of the fundamental concepts of society, a realisation of abstractions, a metaphysical pantomime, whose meaning is *Liberty*.

IV

SOME PORTRAITS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI

59. Mazzini got up and, looking me straight in the face with his piercing eyes, held out both hands in a friendly way. Even in Italy a head so severely classical, so elegant in its gravity, is rarely to be met with. At moments the expression of his face was harshly austere, but it quickly grew soft and serene. An active, concentrated intelligence sparkled in his melancholy eyes ; there was an infinity of persistence and strength of will in them and in the lines on his brow. All his features showed traces of long years of anxiety, of sleepless nights, of past storms, of powerful passions, or rather of one powerful passion, and also some element of fanaticism—perhaps of asceticism.

ALEXANDER HERZEN

60. In fact, on the morning of the 3rd of August, 1848, Garibaldi, with his division, was just about to quit Bergamo, in order, by forced marches, to reach Monza, when we saw Mazzini appear amongst us, rifle on shoulder, asking to join our ranks as a simple soldier of the legion I commanded, which was to form the vanguard of Garibaldi's division. A general acclamation saluted the great Italian, and the legion unanimously confided its banner, which bore the device, " God and the People ", to his charge.

As soon as Mazzini's arrival was known at Bergamo, the population ran to see him. They pressed around him, they begged him to speak. All who heard him must remember his discourse. He recommended raising barricades to defend the town in case of attack, whilst we should march on Milan ; and he conjured them, whatever might happen, to love Italy always, and never to despair of her redemption. His words were received with enthusiasm, and the column left amid marks of the deepest sympathy.

The march was very fatiguing—rain fell in torrents, we

were drenched to the skin. Although accustomed to a life of study, and little fit for the violent exertion of forced marches, his constancy and serenity never forsook him for an instant, and notwithstanding our counsels—for we feared for his physical strength—he would never stay behind nor leave the column. It happened even that, seeing one of our youngest volunteers clothed only in linen, and consequently with no protection against the rain and sudden cold, he forced him to accept and wear his own cloak. . . .

In this march, full of danger and difficulty, the strength of soul, intrepidity, and decision, which Mazzini possesses in such a high degree, never failed, and were the admiration of the bravest amongst us. His presence, his words, the example of his courage, animated our young soldiers, who were, besides, proud of partaking such dangers with him ; and all decided, Mazzini amongst the first, in case of an engagement, to perish to the last man for the defence of the faith of which he had been the apostle, and for which he was ready to become the martyr. This resolute determination contributed much to maintain that order and that firm attitude which saved the rest of the division.

These few details are too honourable to the character of Mazzini to remain unknown. For us, who were witnesses of them, his conduct has been a proof that to the greatest qualities of the civilian he joins the courage and intrepidity of the soldier.

GIACOMO MEDICI

LOUIS-AUGUSTE BLANQUI

61. Blanqui became so that he no longer wore a shirt. For twelve years he wore the same clothes—his prison clothes—rags, which he displayed with sombre pride at his club. He renewed only his boots and gloves, which were always black.

At Vincennes during his eight months of captivity for the affair of the 15th of May, he lived only upon bread and raw potatoes, refusing all other food. His mother alone occasionally succeeded in inducing him to take a little beef-tea.

With this, frequent ablutions, cleanliness mingled with cynicism, small hands and feet, never a shirt, gloves always.

There was in this man an aristocrat crushed and trampled upon by a demagogue.

Great ability, no hypocrisy ; the same in private as in

public. Harsh, stern, serious, never laughing, receiving respect with irony, admiration with sarcasm, love with disdain, and inspiring extraordinary devotion.

There was in Blanqui nothing of the people, everything of the populace.

With this, a man of letters, almost erudite. At certain moments he was no longer a man, but a sort of lugubrious apparition in which all degrees of hatred born of all degrees of misery seemed to be incarnated.

VICTOR HUGO

62. It was then I saw appear in the tribune, in his turn, a man I have never seen since, but the memory of whom has always filled me with horror and disgust. His face was wan and emaciated, his lips were white, he had a sickly pallor and the appearance of a mouldy corpse ; he wore no linen that I could see ; an old frock-coat tightly covered his thin, withered limbs ; he looked as if he had passed his life in a sewer and had just left it. I was told that it was Blanqui.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

63. What a man, what a man ! On the first day of the revolution he is simply a treasure, but on the day after he ought to be shot.

MARC CAUSSIDIÈRE

64. If there were three hundred Bakunins, it would be impossible to govern France.

FERDINAND FLOCON

KARL MARX

65. Marx is still carrying on the same old vain activities, spoiling the workers by making logic-choppers out of them. It's the same old insane theorising and dissatisfied self-satisfaction.

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

66. I saw Karl Marx, the leader of the people's movement. At that time his star was just in the ascendant. He was a man in the thirties with a squat powerful body, a fine face and thick black hair. His features indicated great

energy and behind his moderation and reserve one could detect the passionate fire of a daring spirit.

ARTHUR BRISBANE

MARC CAUSSIDIÈRE

67. I went up to the office of the secretary-general, having business to transact with the person then in charge of the prefecture ; and I found myself in the presence of a man whose herculean limbs, bull neck, and gigantic stature, rendered more remarkable by the smallness of the head, disproportioned to the rest of the body, were calculated to produce a feeling akin to fear, but for the confidence at once inspired by the gentleness of his manners, his tone of voice, and a certain air of simple good nature which spread over him from head to foot ; this peculiar air, however, vanished somewhat after a first glance ; for the half-veiled light of his eyes soon divulged the character of his mind, an extraordinary mixture of pliancy and energy, of eccentric impulses and cautious wariness, of bluntness and finesse. The reader at all acquainted with the personages of this period, will have guessed that I am here speaking of M. Marc Caussidière.

LOUIS BLANC

GARIBALDI

68. At the stroke of six, the General appeared with his staff, and was received with thunderous cries of *Viva!* It was the first time I had seen him. He was a man of medium height, with a face bronzed by the sun, but, in its lineaments, of classic purity. He was sitting his horse as calmly and firmly as if he had been born there. His head was crowned with a flowing mass of hair, spreading beneath the broad brim of his hat, which had a narrow chin-strap and for an ornament a black ostrich feather. A reddish beard covered the entire lower part of his face. Over his red shirt was thrown a white American poncho, lined with red to match his shirt. His staff wore the red shirt, and later on the whole Italian Legion adopted this colour.

GUSTAV HOFFSTETTER

ROBERT BLUM

69. Blum was considered one of the most eloquent men of the Frankfurt Assembly ; he was certainly the most popular. His eloquence would not have stood the test of any experi-

enced Parliamentary Assembly ; he was too fond of the shallow declamations of a German dissenting preacher, and his arguments wanted both philosophical acumen and acquaintance with practical matters of fact. In politics he belonged to "Moderate Democracy", a rather indefinite sort of thing, cherished on account of its very want of definiteness in its principles. But for all this, Robert Blum was by very nature a thorough, though somewhat polished, plebeian, and in decisive moments his plebeian instinct and plebeian energy got the better of his indefiniteness, and, therefore, indecisive political persuasion and knowledge. In such moments he raised himself far above the usual standard of his capacities.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON

70. Proudhon was born in 1803. He has thin hair that is ruffled and ill-combed, with a curl on his high brow. He wears spectacles. His gaze is at once troubled, penetrating and steady. There is something of the house-dog in his almost flat nose and of the monkey in his chin-beard. His mouth, the lower lip of which is thick, has an habitual expression of ill-humour. He has a Franc-Comtois accent, he utters the syllables in the middle of words rapidly and drawls the final syllables ; he puts a circumflex accent on every *a*, and like Charles Nodier, pronounces : *honorâble, remarquâble*. He speaks badly and writes well. In the tribune his gesture consists of little feverish pats upon his manuscript with the palm of his hand. Sometimes he becomes irritated and froths ; but it is cold slaver. The principal characteristic of his countenance and physiognomy is mingled embarrassment and assurance.

VICTOR HUGO

71. "I like your system very much", an English tourist said to Proudhon. "But I have no system", Proudhon answered with annoyance, and he was right.

ALEXANDER HERZEN

REVOLUTIONARY COMEDIANS

72. Socialism unites all the talents. It is serious and clownish ; it instructs and amuses. Proudhon and Louis Blanc have said excellent things ; why should they never

make jests? Their quarrels are the comic side of socialism. They would not be so complete, if they were not a little ridiculous. It is an added charm. Proudhonism and communism, pipe and tabor. The two instruments have little resemblance, but they combine well and can set society dancing very agreeably.

LOUIS-AUGUSTE BLANQUI

THE CHORUS OF THE REVOLUTION

73. Various habitués of the revolution were sitting with dignity at a dozen small tables, gloomily and significantly looking about them from under wide-brimmed felt hats and short-peaked caps. These were the perpetual suitors of the revolutionary Penelope, the invariable actors who take part in every popular demonstration and form its *tableau*, its background, and who are as terrifying in the distance as the paper dragons with which the Chinese tried to scare the English.

In the troubled times of social storms and reconstructions in which states move out of their common routine for a long period, a new kind of people spring up who may be called the chorus of the revolution; grown on shifting and volcanic soil, nurtured in an atmosphere of anxiety when every sort of work is suspended, they grow inured from their earliest years to the conditions of political ferment, and like the theatrical setting of it, its impressive and brilliant *mise en scène*. Just as to Nicholas drill was the most important part of the military art, to them the everlasting banquets, demonstrations, protests, collections, toasts, banners, are the most important part of the revolution.

Among them there are good, valiant people, sincerely devoted and ready to face a bullet; but for the most part they are very unintelligent and extremely pedantic. Immovable conservatives in everything connected with revolution, they stop short at some programme and never advance beyond it.

Discussing all their lives a small number of political ideas, they only know their rhetorical side, so to speak, their ceremonial trappings, *i.e.*, the commonplaces which are invariably brought on the scene *à tour de rôle*, like the ducks in a well-known children's toy—in newspaper articles, in speeches, at banquets and in parliamentary sallies.

ALEXANDER HERZEN

THE REFUGEES OF 1849

74. The exiles of 1849 did not yet believe in the permanence of their enemy's triumph ; the intoxication of their recent successes had not yet passed off, the applause and songs of the victorious people were still ringing in their ears. They firmly believed that their defeat was a momentary reverse, and did not unpack their trunks. Meanwhile, Paris was under police supervision, Rome was falling under the onslaught of the French, the brother of the Prussian King was brutally triumphing in Baden, while Paskevitch in the Russian style had outwitted Görgei in Hungary by bribes and promises. Geneva was full to overflowing with refugees ; it became the Coblenz of the revolution of 1848. There were Italians from all parts ; Frenchmen escaping from the Bauchart inquiry and from the Versailles trial ; Baden insurgents, who entered Geneva marching in regular formation with their officers and with Gustav Struve ; men who had taken part in the rising of Vienna ; Bohemians ; Poles from Posen and Galicia. All these people were crowded together between the Hôtel de Bergues and the Post Office Café. The more sensible of them began to suspect that this exile would not soon be over, talked of America, and went away. It was quite the opposite with the majority, and especially with the French, who, true to their temperament, were in daily expectation of the death of Napoleon and the birth of a republic—some looking for a republic both democratic and socialistic, others for one that should be democratic and not at all socialistic.

ALEXANDER HERZEN

V

VIEWS FROM THE ISLAND

QUEEN VICTORIA

75. Lord John Russell's remarks about Europe, and the unfortunate and calamitous policy of the Government of the poor King of France are most true. But is he not even most to be pitied for being the cause of such misery? (Though perhaps he does not attribute it to himself), for, to see all his hopes thus destroyed, his pride humbled, his children—whom he loves dearly—ruined—is not this enough to make a man wretched? and indeed much to be pitied; for *he* cannot feel *he* could not have prevented all this. Still Guizot is more to blame; *he* was the responsible adviser of all this policy: he is *no* Bourbon, and he ought to have behaved differently. Had the poor King died in 1844, after he came here, and before that most unfortunate Spanish marriages question was started, he would have deservedly gone down to posterity as a great monarch. *Now*, what will be his name in history? His fate is a great *moral*!

With regard to Germany, Prince Metternich is the cause of half the misfortune. His advice was taken by almost all the sovereigns of that country, and it has kept them from doing in time what has now been torn from them with a loss of many rights which they need not have sacrificed. We heard yesterday that the Archduke John had arrived at Frankfort. This is a wise measure, and may do much good and prevent much evil, as he is a popular and most distinguished prince.

Letter to Lord John Russell, April 16th, 1848

76. I have just heard the news of the extraordinary confusion at Paris, which must end in a *Blutbad*. Lamartine has quite lost all influence by yielding to and supporting Ledru Rollin! It seems inexplicable! In Germany, too, everything looks most anxious, and I *tremble* for the result of the Parliament at Frankfort. I am *so* anxious for the fate of the poor smaller Sovereigns, which it would be infamous to sacrifice. I feel

it *much* more than Albert, as it would break my heart to see Coburg *reduced*.

Letter to the King of the Belgians, May 16th, 1848

PRINCE ALBERT

77. Today the strength of the Chartists and all evil-disposed people in the country will be brought to the test against the force of the law, the Government, and the good sense of the country. I don't feel doubtful for a moment who will be found the stronger, but should be exceedingly mortified if anything like a commotion was to take place, as it would shake *that* confidence which the people of Europe reposes in our stability at this moment, and upon which will depend the prosperity of the country. I have enquired a good deal into the state of employment about London, and I find, to my great regret, that the number of workmen of all trades out of employment is *very* large, and that it has been increased by the reduction of all the works under Government, owing to the clamour for economy in the House of Commons. Several hundred workmen have been discharged at Westminster Palace ; at Buckingham Palace much fewer hands are employed than are really wanted ; the formation of Battersea Park has been suspended, etc., etc. Surely this is not the moment for the tax-payers to economise upon the working classes ! And though I don't wish our Government to follow Louis Blanc in his system of *organisation du travail*, I think the Government is bound to do what it can to help the working classes over the present moment of distress. It may do this consistently with real economy in its own works, whilst the reductions on the part of the Government are followed by all private individuals as a sign of the times.

Letter to Lord John Russell, April 10th, 1848

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

78. Mr Wellesley returned from Paris last night, and brought me a letter from Mons. de La Martine, of which I enclose a copy. He certainly places me in an anomalous position ; and he has greatly aggravated the difficulties thereof by the course which he and the Provisional Government have taken, and by the publication of his intentions to the diplomatic representatives of France at the different Courts of Europe. The Provisional Government, endowed

with the powers of peace and war, exercises the same to the full extent without hesitation. To insist that the Government *de facto* and eventually the Republic to be appointed shall succeed to all the rights and privileges of the King of the French under the provisions of the several Treaties of Paris and otherwise is one thing and may be and is reasonable, provided the French Government undertakes to perform its part of the several engagements. But not only is the intention announced of proposing alterations in the Treaties of Peace by which all the Powers of Europe are bound, but of making such alterations as may give to France a right to interfere in the internal Government of other States and their dependencies. Such an arrangement would lead to little less than perpetual war. If such pretensions had been admitted in the Treaties of 1814-15, we should have had King Louis Philippe interfering in the insurrection in Canada in 1837, and in Ireland in 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843. Then I am called upon to promote an Alliance between Her Majesty and the French Republic. I don't know that I can have any influence upon such a question. But if I had, neither I nor, as I believe, any Englishman could desire to see Her Majesty allied with the French Republic in interference in the internal government of other countries.

Letter to Lord John Russell, March 11th, 1848

LORD PALMERSTON

79. You must no doubt have made the same reflection which Normanby makes, and which had already occurred to me, namely that a procession of 300,000 or even of 200,000, armed men in Paris augurs but ill for the future peace of Europe. I trust that we may be able to keep out of war, but there can be no doubt that there exists in France a feeling of hostility to England. It is lucky that our defensive preparations are going on, and I trust that we shall have some muskets and some cannon before any real danger comes upon us.

Letter to Lord John Russell, April 26th, 1848

80. We have given the King of Sardinia pepper and mustard enough to make a devil of him, if he had not in all probability already bedeviled himself; but as on the one hand we have not in our communications with him scolded the Austrians, so also it seemed to me unnecessary and perhaps not useful

but the contrary to scold him in our communications to Austria. The real truth is that the Austrians have purposely and studiously goaded him on to commit what at Vienna and Petersburg they called some *étourderie* which might enable them to settle matters "convenablement", and it would not do credit to our discernment nor tend to make the Austrians moderate in their success if we were to let them think that we do not understand their drift, or if we echoed back in our dispatch the abuse which they have heaped on their antagonist.

Letter to Lord John Russell, March 27th, 1849

81. The Austrians are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilised men. Their atrocities in Galicia, in Italy, in Hungary, in Transylvania are only to be equalled by the proceedings of the negro race in Africa and Haiti. Their late exploit of flogging forty odd people, including two women at Milan, some of the victims being gentlemen, is really too blackguard and disgusting a proceeding. . . . I do hope that *you* will not fail constantly to bear in mind the country and Government which you represent, and that you will maintain the dignity and honour of England by expressing *openly* and *decidedly* the disgust which such proceedings excite in the public mind in this country; and that you will not allow the Austrians to imagine that the public opinion of England is to be gathered from articles put into *The Times* by Austrian agents in London, nor from the purchased support of the *Chronicle*, nor from the servile language of Tory lords and ladies in London, nor from the courtly notions of royal dukes and duchesses. . . .

Letter to Lord Ponsonby, September 9th, 1849

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

82. Have you yet recovered from the great catastrophe? Its cause is inexplicable, its consequences an alarming mystery. No judgment and no imagination can fathom its probable results. The King of France in a Surrey Villa, Metternich in Hanover Square, and the Prince of Prussia at Lady Palmerston's! . . .

F. Mills, who returned from a railroad (I mean about

some railroad company) visit to Paris, on Sunday week dined with Lamartine, who used, in old days, quite to affect splendour and *luxe*. There were several present, all in boots and black cravats, and smoking after dinner—only two dishes, a scanty one of broiled soles, and, unmentionable horror! an immense portion of *foie de veau*! How puerile this affectation of republican simplicity! and what confidence can we have in anything durable being effected by such men! The King, by the bye, said to me several times, “One thing alone has been proved by what has taken place, that in France nothing can endure”.

Affairs, however, *on dit*, are worse in Germany, than in France. Kings and Princes are turned off as we turn away servants, and worse, without a character, and nobody resists. Fifty mad professors at Frankfort, calling themselves a Diet, self-appointed, have absolutely invaded Denmark, and will not conclude their labours till they have established a federal republic like the U.S.

Letter to Lord Londonderry

JOHN STUART MILL

83. Next to the admirable conduct of the people and of the new authorities, the most striking thing in these memorable events is the evidence afforded of the complete change of times, the instantaneous and unanimous acquiescence of all France in a republic, while in this country, as far as I can perceive, there is not a particle of the dread and uneasiness which there would have been a few years ago at the idea of a French republic. There is a strong and a very friendly interest felt in the position of France, and in the new and difficult questions which the republican government will have to solve—especially those relating to labour and wages. For my part, I feel the strongest confidence that what will be done or attempted on that subject will end in good. There will be a good deal of experimental legislation, some of it not very prudent, but there cannot be a better place to try such experiments than France. I suppose that regulation of industry in behalf of the labourers must go through its various phases of abortive experiment, just as regulation of industry in behalf of the capitalist has done, before it is abandoned, or its proper limits ascertained.

Letter to Mrs Austin, February 27th, 1848

84. THE RIGHT TO WORK

To one class of thinkers, the acknowledgment of the *Droit au Travail* may very naturally appear a portentous blunder ; but it is curious to see who those are that most loudly profess this opinion. It is singular that this act of the Provisional Government should find its bitterest critics in the journalists who dilate on the excellence of the Poor-law of Elizabeth ; and that the same thing should be bad for France, which is perfectly right, in the opinion of the same persons, for England and Ireland. For the *Droit au Travail* is the Poor-law of Elizabeth, and nothing more. Aid guaranteed to those who cannot work, employment to those who can ; this is the act of Elizabeth, and this the promise, which it is so inexcusable in the Provisional Government to have made in France.

The Provisional Government not only offered no more than the promise made by the act of Elizabeth, but offered it in a manner, and on conditions, far less objectionable. In the English Parochial system, the law gives to every pauper a right to demand work, or support without work, for himself individually. The French Government contemplated no such right. It contemplated action in the general labour market, not alms to the individual. Its scheme was, that when there was notoriously a deficiency of employment, the State should disburse sufficient funds to create the amount of productive employment which was wanting. But it gave no pledge that the State should find work for A or B. It reserved in its own hands the choice of its work-people. It relieved no individual from the responsibility of finding an employer, and proving his willingness to exert himself. What it undertook was, that there should always be employment to be found. It is needless to enlarge on the incomparably less injurious influence of this intervention of the government in favour of the labourers collectively, than of the intervention of the parish to find employment individually for every able-bodied man who has not honesty or activity to seek and find it for himself.

The *Droit au Travail* as intended by the Provisional Government, is not amenable to the commoner objections against a Poor-law, it is amenable to the most fundamental of the objections, that which is grounded on the principle of population. Except on this ground, no one is entitled

to find fault with it. From the point of view of every one who disregards the principle of population, the *Droit au Travail* is the most manifest of moral truths, the most imperative of political obligations.

It appeared to the Provisional Government, as it must appear to every unselfish and open-minded person, that the earth belongs, first of all, to the inhabitants of it ; that every person alive ought to have a subsistence before any one has more ; that whosoever works at any useful thing, ought to be properly fed and clothed before any one able to work is allowed to receive the bread of idleness. These are moral axioms. But it is impossible to steer by the light of any single principle without taking into account other principles by which it is hemmed in. The Provisional Government did not consider, what hardly any of their critics have considered—that although every one of the living brotherhood of human kind has a moral claim to a place at the table provided by the collective exertions of the race, no one of them has a right to invite additional strangers there without the consent of the rest. If they do, what is consumed by these strangers should be subtracted from their own share. There is enough and to spare for all who *are* born ; but there is not and cannot be enough for all who *might* be born ; and if every person born is to have a first claim to a subsistence from the common fund, there will presently be no more than a bare subsistence for everybody, and a little later there will not be even that. The *Droit au Travail*, therefore, carried out according to the meaning of the promise, would be a fatal gift even to those for whose special benefit it is intended, unless some new restraint were placed upon the capacity of increase, equivalent to that which would be taken away.

The Provisional Government then were in the right ; but those are also in the right who condemn this act of the Provisional Government. Both have truth on their side. A time will come when these two portions of truth will meet together in harmony. The practical result of the whole truth might possibly be, that all persons living should guarantee to each other, through their organ the State, the ability to earn by labour an adequate subsistence, but that they should abdicate the right of propagating the species at their own discretion and without limit ; that all classes alike, and not the poor alone, should consent to exercise

that power in such measure only, and under such regulations, as society might prescribe with a view to the common good. But before this solution of the problem can cease to be visionary, an almost complete renovation must take place in some of the most rooted opinions and feelings of the present race of mankind.

Westminster and Quarterly Review, April, 1848

85. The French Revolution of February, 1848, at first seemed to have opened a fair field for the trial of such [co-operative] experiments on a perfectly safe scale, and with every advantage that could be derived from the countenance of a government which sincerely desired their success. It is much to be regretted these projects have been frustrated, and that the reaction of the middle class against anti-property doctrines has engendered for the present an unreasoning and indiscriminating antipathy to all ideas, however harmless or however just, which have the smallest savour of Socialism. This is a disposition of mind of which the influential classes, both in France and elsewhere, will find it necessary to divest themselves. Socialism has now become irrevocably one of the leading elements in European politics. The questions raised by it will not be set at rest by merely refusing to listen to it, but only by a more and more complete realisation of the ends which Socialism aims at, not neglecting its means so far as they can be employed with advantage.

Principles of Political Economy, 1849

MATTHEW ARNOLD

86. *To a Republican Friend*, 1848

God knows it, I am with you. If to prize
Those virtues, prized and practised by too few,
But prized, but loved, but eminent in you,
Man's fundamental life : if to despise
The barren optimistic sophistries
Of comfortable moles, whom what they do
Teaches the limit of the just and true—
And for such doing have no need of eyes :
If sadness at the long heart-wasting show
Wherein earth's great ones are disquieted :

If thoughts, not idle, while before me flow
 The armies of the homeless and unfed :—
 If these are yours, if this is what you are,
 Then am I yours, and what you feel, I share.

Yet, when I muse on what life is, I seem
 Rather to patience prompted, than that proud
 Prospect of hope which France proclaims so loud.
 France, famed in all great arts, in none supreme.
 Seeing this Vale, this Earth, whereon we dream,
 Is on all sides o'ershadowed by the high
 Un-o'erleap'd Mountains of Necessity,
 Sparing us narrower margin than we deem.
 Nor will that day dawn at a human nod,
 When, bursting through the network superposed
 By selfish occupation—plot and plan,
 Lust, avarice, envy—liberated man,
 All difference with his fellow-men composed,
 Shall be left standing face to face with God.

ROBERT BROWNING

87. That second time they hunted me
 From hill to plain, from shore to sea,
 And Austria, hounding far and wide
 Her blood-hounds through the countryside
 Breathed hot and instant on my trace,—
 I made six days a hiding-place
 Of that dry green old aqueduct
 Where I and Charles, when boys have plucked
 The fire-flies from the roof above,
 Bright creeping through the moss they love.
 —How long it seems since Charles was lost !
 Six days the soldiers crossed and crossed
 The country in my very sight ;
 And when that peril ceased at night,
 The sky broke out in red dismay
 With signal-fires ; well, there I lay
 Close covered o'er in my recess,
 Up to the neck in ferns and cress,
 Thinking on Metternich our friend,
 And Charles's miserable end,
 And much beside, two days ; the third,
 Hunger o'ercame me when I heard

The peasants from the village go
 To work among the maize ; you know,
 With us in Lombardy, they bring
 Provisions packed in mules, a string
 With little bells that cheer their task,
 And casks, and boughs on every cask
 To keep the sun's heat from the wine ;
 These I let pass in jingling line,
 And, close on them, dear noisy crew,
 The peasants from the village, too ;
 For at the very rear would troop
 Their wives and sisters in a group
 To help, I knew ; when these had passed,
 I threw my glove to strike the last,
 Taking the chance : she did not start,
 Much less cry out, but stooped apart
 One instant, rapidly glanced round,
 And saw me beckon from the ground :
 A wild bush grows and hides my crypt ;
 She picked my glove up while she stripped
 A branch off, then rejoined the rest
 With that ; my glove lay in her breast :
 Then I drew breath : they disappeared :
 It was for Italy I feared.

From *The Italian in England*

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

88. In the name of Italy,
 Meantime, her patriot dead have benison.
 They only have done well—and, what they did
 Being perfect, it shall triumph. Let them slumber.
 No king of Egypt in a pyramid
 Is safer from oblivion, though he number
 Full seventy cerements for a coverlid.
 These Dead be seeds of life, and shall encumber
 The sad heart of the land, until it loose
 The clammy clods and let out the spring-growth
 In beatific green through every bruise.
 The tyrant should take heed of what he doth,
 Since every victim-carrion turns to use,
 And drives a chariot, like a god made wroth,
 Against each piled injustice. Aye, the least,

Dead for Italia, not in vain has died,
 Though many vainly, ere life's struggle ceased,
 To mad dissimilar ends have swerved aside ;
 Each grave her nationality has pieced
 By its own majestic breadth, and fortified
 And pinned it deeper to the soil. Forlorn
 Of thanks, be, therefore, no one of these graves !
 Not Hers—who, at her husband's side, in scorn,
 Outfaced the whistling shot and hissing waves,
 Until she felt her little babe unborn
 Recoil, within her, from the violent staves
 And bloodhounds of the world—at which, her life
 Dropt inwards from her eyes and followed it
 Beyond the hunters. Garibaldi's wife
 And child died so. And now, the sea-weeds fit
 Her body, like a proper shroud and coif,
 And murmuringly the ebbing waters grit
 The little pebbles where she lies interred
 In the sea-sand. Perhaps, ere dying thus,
 She looked up in his face (which never stirred
 From its clenched anguish) as to make excuse
 For leaving him for his, if so she erred.
 He well remembers that she could not choose.
 A memorable grave ! . . .

From Casa Guidi Windows

W. M. THACKERAY

89.

THE BATTLE OF LIMERICK

Ye Genii of the nation,
 Who look with veneration,
 And Ireland's desolation unsayingly deplore ;
 Ye sons of General Jackson,
 Who trample on the Saxon,
 Attend to the thransaction upon Shannon shore.

When William, Duke of Schumbug,
 A tyrant and a humbug,
 With cannon and with thunder on our city bore,
 Our fortitude and valliance
 Instruacted his battalions
 To rispict the gallant Irish upon Shannon's shore.

Since that capitulation,
No city in the nation
So grand a reputation could boast before,
As Limerick prodigious,
That stands with quays and bridges,
And the ships up to the windies of the Shannon shore,

A chief of ancient line,
'Tis William Smith O'Brine,
Reprisints this darling Limerick, this ten years or more ;
O the Saxons can't endure
To see him on the flure,
And thrimble at the Cicero from Shannon shore !

This valiant son of Mars
Had been to visit Par's,
That land of Revolution, that grows the tricolor :
And to welcome his return
From pilgrimages furren,
We invited him to tay on the Shannon shore.

Then we summon'd to our board
Young Meagher of the sword :
'Tis he will sheathe that battle-axe in Saxon gore ;
And Mitchil of Belfast
We bade to our repast,
To drink a dish of coffee on the Shannon shore.

Convaniently to hould
These patriots so bould,
We tuck the opportunity of Tim Doolan's store
And with orniments and banners
(As becomes gintale good manners)
We made the loveliest tay-room upon Shannon shore.

'Twould benefit your sowls
To see the butthered rowls,
The sugar-tongs and sangwidges and craim galore,
And the muffins and the crumpets,
And the band of harps and thrumpets,
To celebrate the sworry upon Shannon shore.

Sure the Imperor of Bohay
 Would be proud to dhtrink the tay
 That Mistress Biddy Rooney for O'Brine did pour ;
 And, since the days of Strongbow,
 There never was such Congo—
 Mitchil drank six quarts of it—by Shannon shore.

But Clarndon and Corry
 Connellan beheld this sworry
 With rage and imulation in their black hearts' core ;
 And they hired a gang of ruffins
 To interrupt the muffins,
 And the fragrance of the Congo on the Shannon shore.

When full of tay and cake,
 O'Brine began to spake,
 But juice a one could hear him, for a sudden roar
 Of a ragamuffin rout
 Began to yell and shout,
 And frighten the propriety of Shannon shore.

As Smith O'Brine harangu'd
 They battered and they bang'd :
 Tim Doolan's doors and windies, down they tore ;
 They smash'd the lovely windies
 (Hung with muslin from the Indies),
 Purshuing of their shindies upon Shannon shore.

With throwing of brickbats,
 Drown'd puppies, and dead rats,
 These ruffin democrats themselves did lower ;
 Tin kettles, rotten eggs,
 Cabbage-stalks and wooden legs,
 They flung among the patriots of Shannon shore.

O the girls began to scrame,
 And upset the milk and crame ;
 And the honourable gintlemin, they cursed and swore :
 And Mitchil of Belfast,
 'Twas he that look'd aghast,
 When they roasted him in effigy by Shannon shore.

O the lovely tay was spilt
On that day of Ireland's guilt ;
Says Jack Mitchil, " I am kilt ! Boys, where's the back
'Tis a national disgrace ; [door?
Let me go and veil me face " ;
And he boulded with quick pace from the Shannon shore.

" Cut down the bloody horde ! "
Says Meagher of the sword,
" This conduct would disgrace any blackamoor " ;
But the best use Tommy made
Of his famous battle blade
Was to cut his own stick from the Shannon shore.

Immortal Smith O'Brine
Was raging like a line ;
'Twould have done your sowl good to have heard him roar
In his glory he arose,
And he rush'd upon his foes,
But they hit him on the nose by the Shannon shore.

Then the Futt and the Dthragoons
In squadthrons and platoons,
With their music playing chunes, down upon us bore ;
And they bate the rattatoo,
But the Peelers came in view,
And ended the shaloo on the Shannon shore.

VI AFTERTHOUGHTS ON 1848-9

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

90. ON THE STATE OF EUROPE

It is very desirable that the people of England should arrive at some conclusions as to the conditions on which the government of Europe can be carried on. They will, perhaps, after due reflection, discover that ancient communities like the European must be governed either by traditionary influences or by military force. Those who in their ardour of renovation imagine that there is a third mode, and that our societies can be reconstructed on the great Transatlantic model, will find that when they have destroyed traditionary influences there will be peculiar features in their body politic which do not obtain in the social standard which they imitate, and these may be described as elements of disturbance. A dynasty may be subverted, but it leaves as its successor a family of princely pretenders ; a confiscated aristocracy takes the shape of factions ; a plundered Church acts on the tender consciences of toiling millions ; corporate bodies displaced from their customary quota to the means of government ; outraged tradition in multiplied forms enfeebles or excruciates the reformed commonwealth. In this state of affairs, after a due course of paroxysms, for the sake of maintaining order and securing the rights of industry, the state quits the senate and takes refuge in the camp.

Let us not be deluded by forms of government. The word may be republic in France, constitutional monarchy in Prussia, absolute monarchy in Austria, but the thing is the same. Wherever there is a vast standing army, the government is the government of the sword.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

91. ON THE GERMAN ASSEMBLY AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1849

The position of the National Assembly was far more favourable than could have been expected after its ignoble

career. The western half of Germany had taken up arms in its behalf ; the military everywhere were vacillating ; in the lesser States they were undoubtedly favourable to the movement. Austria was prostrated by the victorious advance of the Hungarians, and Russia, that reserve force of the German Governments, was straining all its powers in order to support Austria against the Magyar armies. There was only Prussia to subdue, and with the revolutionary sympathies existing in that country, a chance certainly existed of attaining that end. Everything then depended upon the conduct of the Assembly.

Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. Those rules, logical deductions from the nature of the parties and the circumstances one has to deal with in such a case, are so plain and simple that the short experience of 1848 had made the Germans pretty well acquainted with them. Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus of very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day ; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organisation, discipline, and habitual authority ; unless you bring strong odds against them, you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered on, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising ; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily ; keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given to you ; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look for the safer side ; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you ; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace !*

What, then, was the National Assembly at Frankfort to do if it would escape the certain ruin which it was threatened with ? First of all, to see clearly through the situation and to convince itself that there was now no other choice than either to submit to the Governments unconditionally, or

take up the cause of the armed insurrection without reserve or hesitation. Secondly, to publicly recognise all the insurrections that has already broken out, and to call the people to take up arms everywhere in defence of the national representation, outlawing all princes, ministers and others who should dare to oppose the sovereign people represented by its mandatories. Thirdly, to at once depose the German Imperial Lieutenant, to create a strong, active, unscrupulous Executive, to call insurgent troops to Frankfort for its immediate protection, thus offering at the same time a legal pretext for the spread of the insurrection, to organise into a compact body all the forces at its disposal, and, in short, to profit quickly and unhesitatingly by every available means for strengthening its position and impairing that of its opponents.

Of all this the virtuous Democrats in the Frankfort assembly did just the contrary. Not content with letting things take the course they liked, these worthies went so far as to suppress by their opposition all insurrectionary movements which were preparing. Thus, for instance, did Herr Karl Vogt at Nuremberg. They allowed the insurrections of Saxony, of Rhenish Prussia, of Westphalia to be suppressed without any other help than a posthumous, sentimental protest against the unfeeling violence of the Prussian Government. They kept up an underhand diplomatic intercourse with the South German insurrections, but never gave them the support of their open acknowledgment. They knew that the Lieutenant of the Empire sided with the Governments, and yet they called upon him, who never stirred, to oppose the intrigues of these Governments. The ministers of the Empire, old Conservatives, ridiculed this impotent Assembly in every sitting, and they suffered it. . . . In short, they went on talking, protesting, proclaiming, pronouncing, but never had the courage or the sense to act ; while the hostile troops of the Governments drew nearer and nearer, and their own Executive, the Lieutenant of the Empire, was busily plotting with the German princes their speedy destruction. Thus even the last vestige of consideration was lost to this contemptible Assembly ; the insurgents who had risen to defend it ceased to care any more for it, and when at last it came to a shameful end, as we shall see, it died without anybody taking any notice of its unhonoured exit.

In our last we showed that the struggle between the German Governments on the one side, and the Frankfort Parliament on the other, had ultimately acquired such a degree of violence that in the first days of May, a great portion of Germany broke out in open insurrection; first Dresden, then the Bavarian Palatinate, parts of Rhenish Prussia, and at last Baden.

In all cases, the real fighting body of the insurgents, that body which first took up arms and gave battle to the troops, consisted of the working classes of the towns. A portion of the poorer country population, labourers and petty farmers, generally joined them after the outbreak of the conflict. The greater number of the young men of all classes, below the capitalist class, were to be found, for a time at least, in the ranks of the insurgent armies, but this rather indiscriminate aggregate of young men very soon thinned as the aspect of affairs took a somewhat serious turn. The students particularly, those "representatives of intellect", as they liked to call themselves, were the first to quit their standards, unless they were retained by the bestowal of officer's rank, for which they, of course, had very seldom any qualifications.

The working class entered upon this insurrection as they would have done upon any other which promised either to remove some obstacles in their progress towards political dominion and social revolution, or, at least, to tie the more influential but less courageous class of society to a more decided and revolutionary course than they had followed hitherto. The working class took up arms with a full knowledge that this was, in the direct bearings of the case, no quarrel of its own; but it followed up its only true policy, to allow no class that has risen on its shoulders (as the bourgeoisie had done in 1848) to fortify its class-government without opening, at least, a fair field to the working classes for the struggle for its own interests, and, in any case, to bring matters to a crisis, by which either the nation was fairly and irresistibly launched in the revolutionary career, or else the *status quo* before the Revolution restored as nearly as possible and, thereby, a new revolution rendered unavoidable. In both cases the working classes represented the real and well-understood interest of the nation at large, in hastening as much as possible that revolutionary course which for the old societies of civilised Europe has now become a historical necessity, before any of them can again aspire

to a more quiet and regular development of their resources.

As to country people that joined the insurrection, they were principally thrown into the arms of the Revolutionary party, partly by the relatively enormous load of taxation, and partly of feudal burdens pressing upon them.

Without any initiative of their own, they formed the tail of the other classes engaged in the insurrection, wavering between the working men on the one side, and the petty trading class on the other. Their own private social position, in almost every case, decided which way they turned ; the agricultural labourer generally supported the city artizan ; the small farmer was apt to go hand in hand with the small shopkeeper.

This class of petty tradesmen, the great importance and influence of which we have already several times adverted to, may be considered as the leading class of the insurrection of May, 1849. There being, this time, none of the large towns of Germany among the centres of the movement, the petty trading class, which in middling and lesser towns always predominates, found the means of getting the direction of the movement into its hands. We have, moreover, seen that, in this struggle for the Imperial Constitution, and for the rights of the German Parliament, there were the interests of this peculiar class at stake. The Provisional Governments formed in all the insurgent districts represented in the majority of each of them this section of the people, and the length they went to may therefore be fairly taken as the measure of what the German petty bourgeoisie is capable of—capable as we shall see, of nothing but ruining any movement that entrusts itself to its hands.

The petty bourgeoisie, great in boasting, is very impotent for action, and very shy in risking anything. The *mesquin* character of its commercial transactions and its credit operations is eminently apt to stamp its character with a want of energy and enterprise ; it is, then, to be expected that similar qualities will mark its political career. Accordingly the petty bourgeoisie encouraged insurrection with big words, and great boasting as to what it was going to do ; it was eager to seize upon power as soon as the insurrection, much against its will, had broken out ; it used this power to no other purpose but to destroy the effects of the insurrection. Wherever an armed conflict had brought matters to a serious crisis, there the shopkeepers stood aghast at the

dangerous situation created for them ; aghast at the people who had taken their boasting appeals to arms in earnest ; aghast at the power thus thrust into their own hands ; aghast, above all, at the consequences for themselves, for their social positions, for their fortunes, of the policy in which they were forced to engage themselves. Were they not expected to risk "life and property", as they used to say, for the cause of the insurrection? Were they not forced to take official positions in the insurrection, whereby, in the case of defeat, they risked the loss of their capital? And in case of victory, were they not sure to be immediately turned out of office, and to see their entire policy subverted by the victorious proletarians who formed the main body of their fighting army? Thus placed between opposing dangers which surrounded them on every side, the petty bourgeoisie knew not to turn its power to any other account than to let everything take its chance, whereby, of course, there was lost what little chance of success there might have been, and thus to ruin the insurrection altogether. Its policy, or rather want of policy, everywhere was the same, and, therefore, the insurrections of May, 1849, in all parts of Germany, were all cut out to the same pattern.

In Dresden, the struggle was kept up for four days in the streets of the town. The shopkeepers of Dresden, the "communal guard", not only did not fight, but in many instances favoured the proceedings of the troops against the insurgents. These again consisted almost exclusively of working men from the surrounding manufacturing districts. They found an able and cool-headed commander in the Russian refugee Michael Bakunin, who afterwards was taken prisoner, and now is confined in the dungeons of Munkacs, Hungary. The intervention of numerous Prussian troops crushed this insurrection.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany

KARL MARX

92. ON THE JUNE DAYS IN PARIS

In the Constituent Assembly, which met on May 4th, the bourgeois republicans, the republicans of the *National*, had the upper hand. Legitimists and Orleanists at first dared to show themselves only under the mask of bourgeois

republicanism. Only in the name of the republic could the fight be started against the proletariat.

From May 4, not from February 25, dated the Republic, that is to say, the republic recognised by the French people ; it is not the republic which the Paris proletariat forced on the Provisional Government, nor the republic with social institutions, nor the vision seen by the fighters on the barricades. The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the only legitimate republic, is the republic which does not constitute a revolutionary weapon against the bourgeois order, but rather its political reconstruction, the political reinforcement of bourgeois society, in a word, the bourgeois republic. From the tribune of the National Assembly this claim went forth, and in the entire republican and anti-republican bourgeois press it found an echo.

We have seen how the February republic in reality was not and could not be other than a bourgeois republic, but how the Provisional Government, under the immediate pressure of the proletariat, was forced to proclaim it as a republic with social institutions, how the Paris proletariat was itself incapable of going beyond the bourgeois republic except in ideas and imagination ; how it acted everywhere in its service when it came to real action ; how the promises made to it became an unbearable danger to the new republic ; and how the entire life process of the Provisional Government was condensed into a continuous fight against the demands of the proletariat.

In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment on the Paris proletariat. Breaking immediately with the social illusions of the February Revolution, it unequivocally proclaimed the bourgeois republic, and nothing but the bourgeois republic. At once it excluded the representatives of the proletariat, Louis Blanc and Albert, from its chosen Executive Commission ; it rejected the proposal of a special Labour Ministry, and received with stormy applause the declaration of Minister Trélat : " It is only a question of bringing labour back to its old conditions."

But all this was not enough. The February republic had been won by the workers with the passive support of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians rightly considered themselves the victors of February, and they made the proud claims of victors. They had to be defeated on the streets, to be shown that they were beaten as soon as they fought, not

with, but against the bourgeoisie. Just as the February republic, with its Socialist concessions, required a battle of the proletariat allied with the bourgeoisie, against monarchy, so a second battle was needed to sever the republic from Socialist concessions, and to establish the bourgeois republic as officially dominant. The bourgeoisie had to refute with arms in its hands the demands of the proletariat. And the real birth date of the bourgeois republic is not the February victory ; it is the June defeat.



The Paris proletariat was forced by the bourgeoisie into the June insurrection. Therein lay its doom. Its immediate admitted needs did not drive it forcibly to bring about the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nor was it equal to the task. The *Moniteur* had officially to inform it that the time was past for the republic to do honour to its illusions, and only its defeat convinced it of the truth that the slightest improvement in its position remains an utopia within the bourgeois republic, an utopia that becomes a crime when its realisation is sought. In place of the demands exalted in form, but petty and even bourgeois in content, whose concession the workers wanted to wring from the February republic, there appeared the bold revolutionary slogan : Overthrow of the Bourgeoisie ! Dictatorship of the Working Class !

In making its burial place the birthplace of the bourgeois republic, the proletariat compelled the latter to stand forth at once in its pure form, as the state whose avowed object is to perpetuate the rule of capital and the slavery of labour. In constant relation to this scarred, irreconcilable, unconquerable enemy—unconquerable because its existence is the condition of its own life—bourgeois rule, freed from all fetters, was bound at once to turn into bourgeois terrorism. With the proletariat temporarily removed from the stage and bourgeois dictatorship recognised officially, the middle strata had more and more to side with the proletariat in so far as their position became more unbearable and their antagonism to the bourgeoisie more acute. As earlier, in its rise, so now, in its defeat, they had to find the cause of their misery.

If the June insurrection raised throughout the continent the self-confidence of the bourgeoisie, and caused it to ally itself openly with the feudal monarchy against the people,

who was the first victim of this alliance? The Continental Bourgeoisie itself. The June defeat prevented it from consolidating its rule and from bringing the people, half satisfied and half disgruntled, to a halt at the lowest stage of bourgeois revolution.

Finally, the defeat of June showed to the despotic powers of Europe that France, under all conditions, must maintain peace abroad in order to carry on civil war at home. Thus the peoples who had begun the struggle for their national independence were delivered up to the superior power of Russia, Austria and Prussia, but, at the same time, the fate of these nationalist revolutions was subordinated to the fate of the proletarian revolution and robbed of its apparent independence, its independence of the great social revolution. The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, so long as the worker remains a slave.

Finally, with the victory of the Holy Alliance, Europe assumed a form by which every fresh proletarian rising in France directly coincides with a world war. The new French revolution is obliged to leave its national soil at once and conquer the European terrain, upon which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be carried through.

Only through the June defeat were all the conditions created under which France can take the initiative of the European revolution. Only in the blood of the June insurgents did the Tricolor become the flag of the European Revolution—the Red Flag.

And we cry : *The revolution is dead ! Long live the revolution !
The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50*

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI

93. ON THE ITALIAN WAR OF 1848-49

In the genesis of facts Logic is inexorable ; it cannot be falsified either by the Utopias of *Moderates*, or the tortuous tactics of calculating politicians. In politics, as in everything else, a principle inevitably involves a system, a series of consequences, of progressive applications, easy to be foreseen by any one with common sense. Every *theory* has a corresponding *practice* ; and if the generating principle of a *fact* is falsified or betrayed in its application, that fact is irrevocably condemned to disappear ; to perish without development,

an unaccomplished programme, an isolated page in the history of a people ; prophetic for the future, but barren of immediate result. Forgetfulness of this truth rendered the failure of the Italian movement in 1848 a necessity ; and it failed.

The Italian movement was essentially *national* ; it was the movement of a people endeavouring to define, to manifest, to constitute its own *collective* life. It ought to have been supported and to have conquered through a *people's* war ; a war sustained by all the national forces from one end of Italy to the other.

Everything calculated to bring the greatest number of forces to bear upon the aim, was favourable to the movement ; everything tending to lessen that number was necessarily fatal to it.

The *generating idea* of the movement was in every way opposed and contradicted by a paltry idea of dynastic aggrandisement. The royal war, having a quite different end in view from that proposed by the insurrection, had, consequently, utterly different methods and principles of action. It was bound of necessity to stifle the national war, the people's war, and with it the triumph of the insurrection.

Many of the adversaries of our party, recognising their incompetence to refute us on our own ground, have made it their system to misrepresent us ; to confound republicanism with anarchy ; our social doctrine with communism, and our yearning after a universal and active belief with the negation of all belief. They have affected to see in the people's war we preached, a disorderly and confused war ; composed of irregular elements, and irregular in its operations ; governed by no ruling idea, and lacking all uniformity of command and even of *matériel* ; to the point that they have even affirmed that we sought to make war without either guns or cannon ! Ridiculous notions, but not ours : as the few movements which have emanated from the republican principle, and which may be regarded as the prologue to the drama of the future, have sufficiently proved. The small number of men gathered together in two Italian cities, beneath the republican flag, conducted a more scientific, as well as a more obstinate war, than the many who fought under the banner of the monarchy.

By a people's war, we understand a war sanctified by a

national object ; in which the greatest possible number of forces a country can supply is brought into action, and all such forces are employed according to their special nature and peculiar fitness ; in which the regular and irregular elements of warfare, distributed over a territory adapted to their various aptitudes, alternate their activity ; and in which it is declared to the people : *The cause combatted for is yours ; the efforts and sacrifices made to win it ought therefore to be yours.* By a people's war we understand a war in which a *principle*, a grand idea, boldly proclaimed and faithfully applied, by leaders pure in heart, powerful in intellect, conscientious, vigilant, trusted, and beloved, awakens to a kind of inspired life, and exalts to enthusiasm those capacities for struggle and sacrifice which are so easily kindled or extinguished in the heart of a people. In a people's war no privilege of birth, of favour, or even of length of service, without merit, would have any influence in the formation of the army ; the right of election would be applied as widely as is practically possible ; moral training would alternate with military training ; and rewards, proposed by the different companies, approved by the chiefs, and conferred by the nation, would teach the soldier to feel that he is not a machine, but a part of the people armed in a holy cause. In a people's war men are not taught to look for safety exclusively to an army, a man, or a capital ; they learn to create centres of resistance everywhere ; to see the cause of the country at stake wheresoever a handful of brave men raise the banner of victory or death. A prudent well-combined general plan being held in reserve in case of serious reverses, the operations are bold, rapid, and unforeseen ; relying especially on moral elements and effects, and unrestrained by diplomatic considerations ; the *peoples*, in fact, are more regarded than the governments ; and the chief aim is rather to enlarge the circle of insurrection, than timorously to guard against the movements of the enemy ; rather to wound *them* to the heart than to avoid sacrifices for the country.

And for a war like this—the only war capable of saving the nation and its independence—the royal war was compelled, by the inevitable necessity alike of its traditions and its intentions, to substitute the cold and hierarchical methods of the soldiers of privilege ; the dry calculation of material elements only ; the neglect of all moral elements, of the

enthusiasm and faith which are capable of transforming a soldier into a hero of victory or a martyr.

Contempt and distrust of the volunteers—an excessive importance given to the capital—the army, such as it was, the creation of a despotism, with numerous but inferior officers, and chiefs almost all incapable, some opposed to the war, or worse ;—suspicion of all action on the part of the people, as likely still further to develop their democratic tendencies and awaken a consciousness of rights fatal to royalty ;—aversion for every adviser possessed of peculiar influence, as liable to dictate conditions or suggest duties ;—respect for foreign diplomacy, for treaties, facts, or governmental pretensions dating from the iniquitous period of 1815, and that even when such treaties hindered operations that might have been decisive ;—repugnance to assist Republican Venice—refusal of all aid from without, which might have augmented sympathy for the party hostile to the monarchy—old and worn-out tactics and strategy, and dread of every bold or novel operation ;—the persistent dominant idea of the necessity of saving Piedmont and the Piedmontese throne at any cost ; above all, and fatal to all noble enthusiasm, the germ of dissension sown among the combatants for the same cause, by the substitution of a miserable scheme of *political* egotism, for the *Grand National Idea* :—such were fatal but inevitable characteristics of the royal war.

JOHN MITCHEL

94. ON THE IRISH RISING OF 1848

Well, *the time* had come at last. If Ireland had one blow to strike, now was her day. Queen Victoria would not wait till the autumn should place in the people's hands the ample commissariat of their war, and decreed that if they *would* fight, they should, at least, fight fasting. O'Brien was at the house of a friend in Wexford County when he heard of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and that a warrant had been issued for his own arrest. He was quickly joined by Dillon and Meagher. Doherty and MacManus, with some others, betook themselves to the Tipperary hills and "put themselves upon the country". O'Gorman hurried to Limerick and Clare to see what preparation existed there for the struggle, and to give it a direction. Reilly and Smith ranged over

Kilkenny and Tipperary, eagerly seeking for insurrectionary fuel ready to be kindled, and sometimes in communication with O'Brien and his party, at other times alone. To O'Brien, on account of his character, his services, and his value to the cause, the leadership seemed to be assigned by common consent.

It is very easy for those who sat at home in those days to criticise the proceedings of O'Brien, and the brave men who sought, in his company, for an honourable chance of throwing their lives away. But it must be obvious, from the narrative of the three years' previous famine, what a hopeless sort of material for spirited resistance was then to be found in the rural districts of Ireland. Bands of exterminated peasants, trooping to the already too full poor-houses; straggling columns of hunted wretches, with their old people, wives and little ones, wending their way to Cork or Waterford to take shipping for America; the people not yet ejected frightened and desponding, with no interest in the land they tilled, no property in the house above their heads, no food, no arms, with the slavish habits bred by long ages of oppression ground into their souls, and that momentary proud flash of passionate hope kindled by O'Connell's agitation, long since dimmed and darkened by bitter hunger and hardship. It was no easy task to rouse such a people as this. But there is in the Irish nature a wonderful spring and an immense vitality, insomuch that the chances of a successful insurrection in '48 may have been by no means desperate. At any rate, O'Brien and his comrades were resolute to give the people a chance, knowing full well that though they should be mown down in myriads by shot and steel, it would be a better lot than poor-houses and famine graves. . . .

O'Brien, Dillon and Meagher, with some few followers, and without arms or stores, taking the field against the potent monarchy of England, were, indeed, but a forlorn hope. They can scarcely be said to have a plan. O'Brien resolutely refused to commence a struggle, which he felt to be for man's dearest rights, by attacking and plundering the estates and mansions of the gentry, who, however, were then generally fortified and barricaded in their own houses, to hold the country for the enemy.

For several days he went from place to place, attended by his friends, followed sometimes by two or three hundred people, half armed, always expecting to meet a party with

a warrant for his arrest ; in which case it would be *war*, both defensive and offensive, to the last extremity. All round him were country mansions of nobles and gentlemen who had openly avowed themselves for the English, and against their own people ; who had previously branded *him* as a rebel, and offered their lives and fortunes for the work of crushing him, and he an outlaw, declined to exact contributions from them to feed his followers and hold them together. All this was resolved and done from the purest and most conscientious motives, undoubtedly ; but it was, perhaps, not the best mode of commencing a revolution.

All this while, from day to day, crowds of stout men, many of them armed, flocked to O'Brien's company ; but they uniformly melted off, as usual, partly compelled by want of provisions, partly under the influence of the clergy. The last time he had any considerable party together was at Ballingarry, where forty-five armed police had barricaded themselves in a strong stone house, under the command of a Captain Trant, who certainly had the long-expected warrant to arrest O'Brien, but who was afraid to execute it until the arrival of some further reinforcements. O'Brien went to one of the front windows, and called on Captain Trant to surrender. Trant demanded half an hour to consider. During this half hour some of the crowd had thrown a few stones through the windows ; and Captain Trant, seeing that the people could not be controlled much longer by O'Brien, gave orders to fire. O'Brien rushed between the people and the window, climbed on the window, and once more called upon the police to surrender. At the first volley from the house two men fell dead, and others were wounded, and the crowd on that side fell back, leaving O'Brien almost alone in the garden before the house.

Trant was shortly afterwards reinforced by the force he expected. Mr O'Brien's followers were by this time scattered and gone. He scarce made an effort even to provide for his own safety, and was soon arrested.

In fact, there was no insurrection. The people in those two or three counties did not believe that he meant to fight ; and nothing would persuade them of that but some desperate enterprise. Yet they were all ready and willing ; and, indeed, are at all times ready and willing to fight against a dominion, which represents to them nearly all that they know of evil in the world.

Ireland since '98

PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON

95. ON THE AFTERMATH OF 1848 IN FRANCE

The monarchy of July, after having carried out the dissolution of all the old principles, had left behind it a double work to be accomplished. There was, on one hand, the dissolution of the parties ; on the other, the dismissal of power, reduced by the successive elimination of all its principles to the death's head of authority, to brute force. . . .

There are no longer any parties endowed with vital strength in French society ; and, until new principles, rising from the inexhaustible depths of human practice, until other interests, other customs, a new philosophy, transforming and regenerating the world without breaking from it, shall have opened new vistas to opinion and revealed other hypotheses, parties will not be able to exist among us. The primary idea lacking, the diversity of opinions flowing from that idea is impossible. . . .

The men whom we see at this moment still gravely carrying the banners of parties, soliciting and galvanising power, skirmishing to right and left of the Revolution, are not alive : they are dead. They neither govern nor make opposition to the government : they celebrate, in a dance of gestures, their own obsequies.

The socialists, who, not daring to seize power when power was for the most audacious, lost three months in club intrigues, in the gossiping of coteries and sects, in extravagant demonstrations ; who, trying too late to give themselves an official consecration by inscribing the Right to Work in the Constitution, without showing the means of guaranteeing it ; who, not knowing what to put themselves to, still disturb peoples' minds with ridiculous and insincere projects : have these socialists the pretension to govern the world ? They are dead, they have swallowed their tongues, as the peasants say. Let them sleep their sleep, and wait to reappear until a science, which they do not possess, calls them.

And the Jacobins, governmentalists democrats, who, after having passed eighteen years in conspiracy without studying a single problem of social economy, exercised dictatorship for four months and gathered no other fruit from it than a succession of reactionary agitations, followed by a frightful civil war ; who, to the last moment, talking always of freedom, dreamt always of dictatorship ; would it be any slander to

them to say that they also are dead, and that the seal is placed on their tomb? When the people have made themselves a new philosophy and faith, when society knows whence it comes and where it is going, what it can do and what it wants, then, only then, could the demagogues return, not to govern the people, but to stir them again.

The doctrinaires also are dead; the men of the insipid centre, the partisans of the so-called constitutional regime gave their last breath at the sitting of the 20th October, after having, in that of the 16th April, decreed by a republican assembly an experiment in doctrinaire papacy.

The absolutist party, finally, the first in logic and history, will not delay to expire in succession to the others, in the convulsions of its bloody and liberticide agony. After the victories of Radetzki, Oudinot and Haynau, the principle of authority, spiritually as well as temporally, is destroyed. It is no longer government which is made by absolutism, but assassination. What weighs in this moment on Europe is no more than the shadow of tyranny: soon will rise, to set only with the last man, the Sun of Freedom. Like Christ, eighteen centuries ago, Freedom triumphs, it reigns, it governs. Its name is in all mouths, its faith in all hearts. For absolutism to revive, it will not be sufficient for it to reduce men; it must also make war on ideas. To lose souls as well as bodies, that is the meaning of the expedition to Rome, that is the spirit of the ecclesiastical government, to which, but too late for their common salvation, the secular arm has joined itself.

It is that confusion of parties, that death of power, which has revealed Louis Bonaparte to us. And, in the same way as the high priests among the Jews, Louis Bonaparte spoke prophetically. "France has elected me", he says, "because I am of no party!" Yes, France has elected him, because it no longer wishes to be governed. To make a man, a body and a soul are needed; in the same way, to make a government, a party and a principle are needed. But there are no longer either parties or principles: it is all up with government.

This is what the people in February themselves proclaimed, when, joining two names in one, they commanded, by their sovereign authority, the fusion of the two parties which expressed in a special way the movement and tendency of the revolution, and which they called the *Democratic and Social Republic*.

But if, according to the wish of the people, democracy of every shade and socialism of all schools must disappear and unite in one, absolutism and constitutionalism must equally disappear and unite into one. This is what the organs of socialist democracy expressed, when they said that there were in France only two parties, the party of Labour and the party of Capital, a definition which was accepted immediately by the two reactionary parties, and served throughout France as the slogan for the elections of the 13th May. . . .

Now, enough of sorrows, enough of ruins. We have made a clean sweep of parties and of government. The legend nears its end : let the people open their eyes, and they are free.

No power, divine or human, could halt the Revolution. What we have to do at present is no longer to affirm it before the old world, or to inflame hearts for its holy cause. The people are its sufficient propaganda. Our task, the task of the publicists, is to preserve the Revolution from the perils with which its route is sown ; it is to direct it according to its own eternal principle.

We know already the perils which the Revolution runs.

Perils on the side of power. Power, materialised by those very people who accused the new spirit of materialism, is no longer more than a word. Deprive it of its bayonets and you will know what I mean. Let us beware of allowing a soul to enter into this corpse which is moved by an infernal spirit. Do not approach the vampire, for it still thirsts for blood. Let the exorcism of organised universal suffrage make it go back into its grave for ever.

Perils on the side of the parties. All the parties have lagged behind the revolutionary idea ; all have betrayed the people in leaning towards dictatorship ; all have shown themselves refractory to liberty and progress. Do not let us resuscitate them by reviving their quarrels. Do not let us make the people believe that it would be possible to assure them work, well-being and liberty if the government passed from the hand of this party into the hand of that ; if the right, after having oppressed the left, were in its turn oppressed by the latter. As power is the instrument and citadel of tyranny, the parties are its life and thought. . . .

The principle of the Revolution, we know already, is Liberty.

Liberty ! That is to say : 1st, political freedom, by the

organisation of universal suffrage, by the *independent* centralisation of social functions, by the perpetual and incessant revision of the Constitution ; 2nd, industrial liberation, by the mutual guarantee of credit and exchange.

In other words, no more government of man by man, through the accumulation of powers, no more exploitation of man by man through the accumulation of capital.

Liberty ! that is the first and the last word of social philosophy. It is strange that after so many deviations and retreats in the rough and complicated path of revolutions, we end by discovering that the remedy for so many sufferings, the solution of so many problems, consists in giving a freer course to liberty, in lowering the barriers which public and proprietary authority have raised before it ? But it is thus that humanity arrives at the awareness and the realisation of all its ideas.

Confessions of a Revolutionary

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

96. A SONG IN TIME OF ORDER, 1852

Push hard across the sand,
For the salt wind gathers breath ;
Shoulder and wrist and hand,
Push hard as the push of death.

The wind is as iron that rings,
The foam-heads loosen and flee ;
It swells and welters and swings,
The pulse of the tide of the sea.

And up on the yellow cliff
The long corn flickers and shakes ;
Push, for the wind holds stiff,
And the gunwale dips and rakes.

Good hap to the fresh fierce weather,
The quiver and beat of the sea!
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.

Out to the sea with her there,
Out with her over the sand ;
Let the kings keep the earth for their share !
We have done with the sharers of land.

They have tied the world in a tether,
They have bought over God with a fee ;
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.

We have done with the kisses that sting,
The thief's mouth red from the feast,
The blood on the hands of the king
And the lie on the lips of the priest.

Will they tie the winds in a tether,
Put a bit in the jaws of the sea ?
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.

Let our flag run out straight in the wind !
The old red shall be floated again
When the ranks that are thin shall be thinned,
When the names that were twenty are ten ;

When the devil's riddle is mastered
And the galley-bench creaks with a Pope,
We shall see Bonaparte the bastard
Kick heels with his throat in a rope.

While the shepherd sets wolves on his sheep
And the emperor halts his kine,
While Shame is a watchman asleep
And Faith is a keeper of swine,

Let the wind shake our flag like a feather,
Like the plumes of the foam of the sea !
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.

All the world has its burdens to bear,
From Cayenne to the Austrian whips ;
Forth, with the rain in our hair
And the salt sweet foam in our lips ;

In the teeth of the hard glad weather,
In the blown wet face of the sea ;
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.

NOTES

1. Marc Caussidière was a socialist conspirator who, during the February days of 1848, seized the Prefecture of Police with a group of fighters from the barricades, and was later appointed Prefect by the Provisional Government. He was always sympathetic towards the left-wing movements, and, after the demonstration against the National Assembly in May, when Barbés and his associates set up a rival Provisional Government which lasted for two hours, Caussidière was accused of deliberately inefficient police arrangements intended to assist the rioters. He then resigned from the prefecture. During the June days, as a member of the National Assembly, he pleaded for negotiation instead of Cavagnac's policy of savage repression, but was shouted down, and after the defeat of the June rising, he learnt that the government intended to arrest him for complicity, and fled into exile, where he wrote his *Memoirs*, published in Brussels in 1849, which remain one of the best sources of facts regarding the events of 1848 in France.

3. Lord Normanby was British Ambassador at the time of Louis Philippe's abdication, and wrote *Memoirs of a Year of Revolution*, giving his impressions of Paris in 1848. He displayed a certain guarded sympathy towards Lamartine and the right-wing, but was violently prejudiced against the left-wing, and his account of the later stages of the revolution is so biassed as to be wholly unreliable.

6. Louis Blanc was an early French socialist theoretician who, in 1838, produced an epoch-making booklet entitled *Organisation of Labour*. He advocated co-operative workshops, assisted but not wholly controlled by the State, and his system must not be confused with the National Workshops of 1848, which were set up by the right-wing section of the Government in the hope of disciplining the workers. Louis Blanc became a member of the Provisional Government in February 1848, and seems to have found considerable difficulty in holding a balance between the cautious policy of Lamartine and the demands of the socialists. In May, 1848, he was left out of the Executive Commission chosen by the National Assembly, and later, after the June rising, he was forced to flee under threat of arrest. He came to

England, where he wrote a number of books on 1848, of which the most interesting is *Historical Revelations*, 1849.

15. Giuseppe La Farina was a Sicilian author and historian. In 1847 he started a democratic journal, *L'Alba*, in Florence, but when the rising took place in Sicily next year he returned there, becoming a member of the committee of war, and later minister of defence. He went into exile in France in 1850, but later returned to Italy and took an active part in the various movements of liberation.

16. Emilio Dandolo was a Lombard who, after the reduction of the North of Italy by the Austrians, came down with the Bersaglieri of Lombardy to take an active part in the defence of Rome. His book, *The Italian Volunteers and Lombard Brigade*, of which a translation appeared in England in 1851, is one of the best contemporary records of the siege of Rome.

19. Hecker was one of the most active left-wing republicans in Germany during 1848. With Struve he drew up the Offenburg manifesto of 1847, and later he took part in two risings in Baden. Eventually, after failure in the spring of 1849, he emigrated to America, where he fought in the Civil War.

20. Michael Bakunin was perhaps the most active individual revolutionary in 1848-9. Having been exiled to Brussels by Guizot in 1847, he returned immediately to take part in the February rising. Then he departed to try and stir up a revolution in Poland. Failing in this, he went to Prague, where he took place in the Pan-Slav conference and the subsequent Czech rising. Finally, on his way back to Poland, he was caught by the revolution in Dresden, where he immediately assumed a most active part. After the fall of Dresden he was captured at Chemnitz, sentenced to death by the Saxon authorities, but reprieved and handed over to the Austrian government, who kept him for a year chained to a wall in one of their fortresses, before handing him over to the Russian authorities. Without trial, he was kept for nearly a decade in the Peter and Paul Fortress and Schlüsselberg, and then sent to Siberia, whence he escaped to Japan and thence back to Europe, to take an active part in the International and the founding of militant anarchism.

25. Louis-Auguste Blanqui was the great conspirator of the nineteenth century. Twice sentenced to death, he spent almost half his life in prison and many years in exile for his unrelenting activities. He took an active part in the 1830 rising, led a conspiracy in 1838, was active in 1848, and in the time of the Commune of 1871 was considered so important and so dangerous to the established order that the Communards offered to exchange all their prisoners for Blanqui, then in prison, and Thiers refused. Blanqui died in 1881. He believed essentially in revolution by the conspiracy of a leading *élite*, but he was not merely a conspirator, for he thought deeply on economic questions and invented both the phrases and the ideas of "The Dictatorship of The Proletariat" and "The Industrial Revolution".

26. Etienne Cabet was a leading Utopian Socialist, who in 1848 decided to abandon France and to try and set up an ideal community in America, based on the ideas put forward in his *Voyage en Icarie* in 1839. The Icarian communities lasted for many years in America, but seem to have broken up largely through the dictatorial methods of Cabet and his lieutenants.

32. Giuseppe Mazzini, born in 1805, was the great theoretician and conspirator of the Italian nationalist revolutionary movement. Starting as a member of the Carbonari, he conspired throughout his life both against the Austrians and the native royal families in favour of an Italian republic. Although not a socialist, his antagonism to capitalism and the landowning class gave him great influence among the workers, and for a time he was a rival influence to both Marx and Bakunin in the First International. During the Roman republic, Mazzini, Saffi and Armellini composed the ruling Triumvirate, but Mazzini was the virtual ruler of the city, and provides an almost unique example of a man whose idealism was so strong that it was unaffected by the power he wielded.

37. Daniele Manin was a Jewish lawyer who led the movement of resistance against the Austrians in Venetia during 1847-9. When the Venetians rose in March, 1848, he was appointed dictator of the city, and conducted the long

defence of 1849 against the invaders. When Venice finally fell, Manin was exiled, but he later took an active part, with La Farina and others, in the movements for Italian liberation.

60. Giacomo Medici was one of Garibaldi's lieutenants who, having served in the Carlist wars in Spain, went to join Garibaldi in Montevideo, and later returned to Italy in 1848, after which he devoted his life to the struggle for Italian liberation.

62. Alexis de Tocqueville was an aristocratic constitutionalist, elected to the National Assembly of May, 1848. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs under the Presidency of Louis Napoleon, but resigned after the establishment of the Empire. He is most celebrated as the author of *Democracy in America*.

64. Ferdinand Flocon, a neo-Jacobin republican who became a minister in the Provisional Government in 1848, but later vanished from it after the National Assembly of May.

66. Arthur Brisbane was an American journalist on the *New York Tribune*, who became the leading American exponent of the doctrines of Fourier, and was the ideological parent of the many Phalansteries which arose in America during the first half of the nineteenth century.

68. Gustav von Hoffstetter was a German Swiss who acted as a member of Garibaldi's staff during the siege of Rome. His *Tagebuch aus Italien* is an important document of the period.

71. Alexander Herzen was the Russian libertarian revolutionary who, through his expatriate magazine, *The Bell*, edited in collaboration with Ogarev, and, for a time, Bakunin, became the most influential figure in the rise of the Russian liberal movement of the 1850's, and the subsequent movement of active revolutionism in the 1870's and 1880's. After his departure from Russia in 1847 he lived always in exile, spending many years in England.

81. It is interesting to note that when Haynau, the Austrian general most notorious for his atrocities, came to England in October, 1850, and was whipped by the draymen on a visit he made to Barclay's brewery, Palmerston wrote to Grey :—

"I must own that I think Haynau's coming here without rhyme or reason, so soon after his Italian and Hungarian exploits, was a wanton insult to the people of this country, whose opinion of him had been so loudly proclaimed at public meetings and in all the newspapers. But the draymen were wrong in the particular course they adopted. Instead of striking him, which, however, by Koller's account they did not do much, they ought to have tossed him in a blanket, rolled him in the kennel, and then sent him home in a cab, paying his fare to the hotel."

88. Elizabeth Barrett Browning was in Florence during the Tuscan rising of 1848. The first part of her *Casa Guidi Windows* was written in the atmosphere of triumph of that year ; the second part, from which this passage is quoted, was written three years later, after the defeat of all the Italian revolutionary movements had dashed the hopes of 1848-9.

89. This poem by Thackeray, which first appeared in *Punch*, is written around a meeting in Limerick of the Physical-force exponents of Irish rebellion, which was invaded by the local Moral-force advocates, and eventually broke up in fighting, with the Physical-force leaders making their escape after a severe manhandling from their opponents.

91. Bakunin, mentioned in this account, was never imprisoned in Hungary. After the Saxons had extradited him, he was imprisoned by the Austrians at Prague and then Olmutz, after which he was handed to the Russians.

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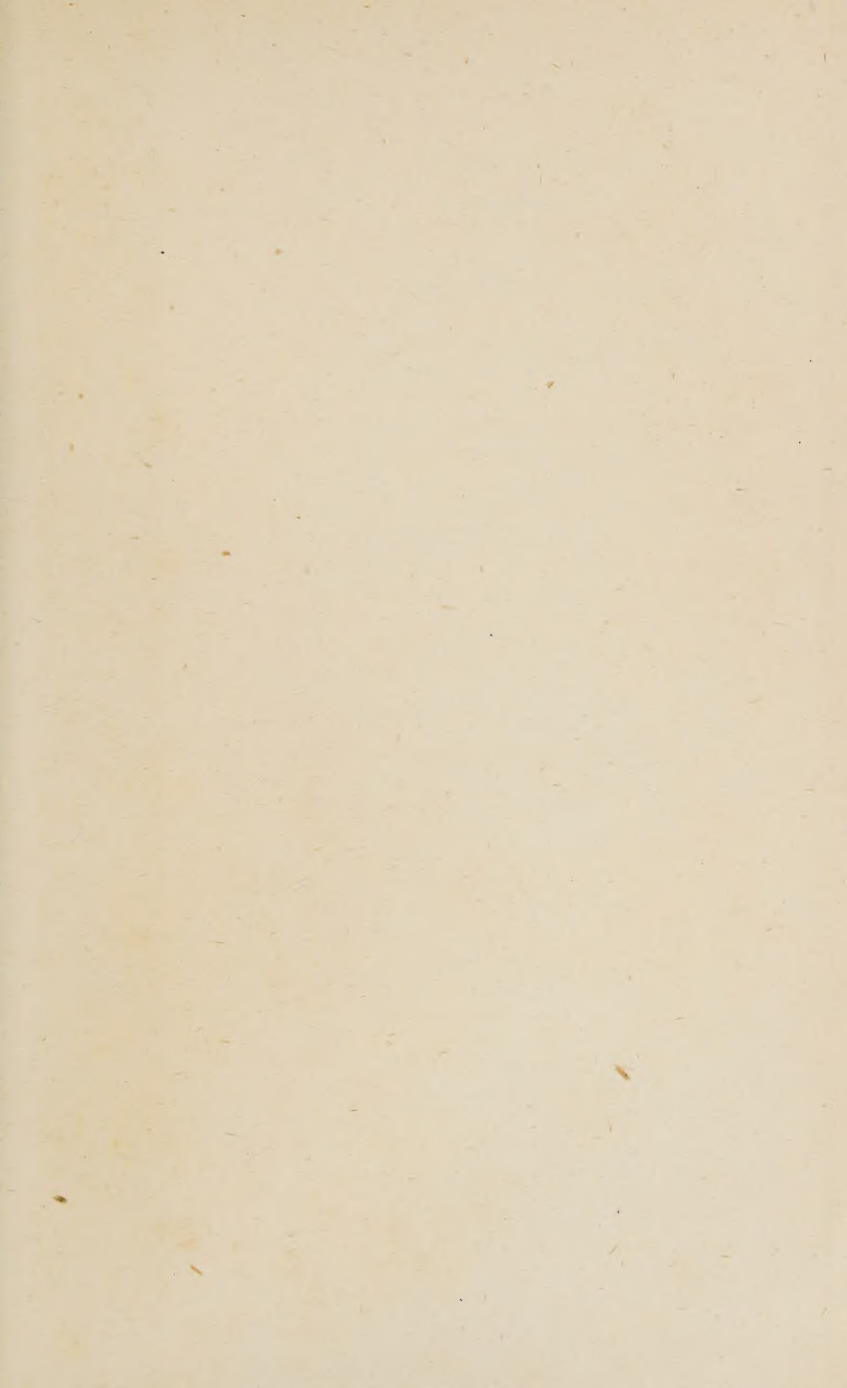
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